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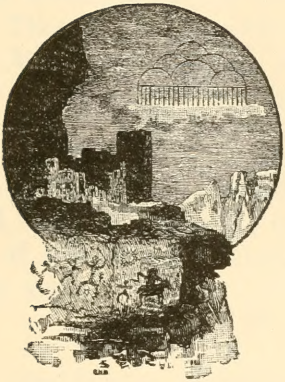

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1938.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscripts, entitled "Archeological Investigations in the Corozal District of British Honduras," by Thomas and Mary Gann; "Linguistic Classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi Dialects," by Truman Michelson; "Sedelmayr's Relacion of 1746," translated and edited by Ronald L. Ives; "Notes on the Creek Indians," by J. N. B. Hewitt, edited by John R. Swanton; "The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela," by Vincenzo Petrullo; "Archeology of Arauquin," by Vincenzo Petrullo, and to recommend that they be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling, *Chief.*

Dr. C. G. Abbot,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 7

Archeological Investigations in the Corozal District of British Honduras

By THOMAS and MARY GANN

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ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE COROZAL DISTRICT OF BRITISH HONDURAS

By Thomas and Mary Gann

In the Corozal District of British Honduras, between the valleys of the Rio Hondo and the Rio Nuevo, there lies a group of large mounds and banks known to the Indians as Nohmul, or Great Mound, so called because one of the pyramidal structures, of which a great number are found in the neighborhood, is the loftiest in the district, reaching a height of 95 feet.

Two seasons were spent in field work on this and the adjoining structures, of which the following paper is a record.

The main group, hereafter called Nohmul, occupies a space measuring approximately 550 yards from east to west by 500 yards from north to south, and consists of a congeries of banks and mounds surrounding rectangular spaces, or plazas, the whole covered with tall forest trees whose branches, decorated with air plants and ropes of lianas, formed a leafy roof over our camp, almost impervious to both rain and sunlight.

The great central structure towering over us just to the north of camp consisted of a rectangular substructure measuring 52 by 50 yards, and 26 feet high, which supported on its southern margin a steep pyramidal mound 68 feet high. From the northwest and southwest angles of the substructure extensions projected toward the west, that on the north being 6 yards long, that on the south 20 yards, and to the west of these a low bank or mound enclosed a rectangular space, which with the substructure and extensions formed a long narrow plaza. West of this was a further series of spaces enclosed by long mounds, or banks, bounded toward the south by a bank 200 yards in length running almost due east and west, the height of which varied from 3 to 6 feet. A short distance south of this the land became lower, ending in a swampy stretch upon which no mounds or other structures had been erected.

To the east the group was bounded by a series of long, low mounds which varied a good deal in height and width, the average height being approximately 6 feet and the average width 25 feet.

The plaza in which our camp was pitched was bounded to the north by the great substructure, to the west by a mound 65 yards long by 20 yards broad and 22 feet high, to the south by a similar mound, and to the east by two mounds, one 30 yards long and the other smaller and almost round.

About a furlong to the southwest of the group was a small water hole, only a few yards in diameter and about 1 foot deep, from which very evil-tasting water was obtained. By the side of this, however, and connecting with it, was a reed-covered swamp of considerable extent which had, until it became silted up, probably formed a lagoon of moderate size from which good water could be obtained.

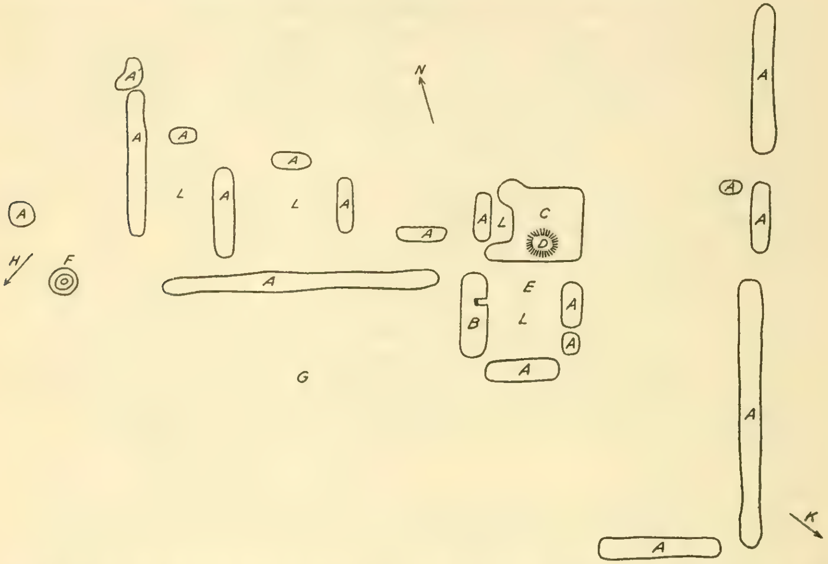

Figure 1.—Rough sketch plan of Nohmul. *a*, Mounds and banks. *b*, Mound to the west of camp showing excavation on its eastern side. *c*, Large substructure on which stood the burial mound. *d*, Burial mound. *f*, Camp. *g*, Low-lying swampy land. *h*, Arrow pointing to western water hole and swamp. *k*, Arrow pointing to lagoon. *l*, Plazas.

To the southeast of the group was a fine deep water hole, extending over several acres, the greater part of which was now covered by a suddlike growth over which ran numbers of little spur-wings. It must contain fish, as a large heron was wading about in the clearer part, so tame that it allowed us to get within a few yards before winging off lazily. This fine lagoon probably influenced the old Maya in their choice of a site, as it provided an unlimited supply of water, which we found excellent not only for washing but for drinking, and may also have served as a fish pond, or reservoir, as did those of Angkor for the Khmer.

The large mound occupying the south side of the substructure (fig. 1) had partially collapsed on its northern face, about 20 feet from the summit, exposing part of a well-built wall of squared blocks of limestone.

On the same side of the mound, midway between the summit and the base, was found the midsegment of a large stela, approximately 3 feet long by 3 feet broad, partially buried in the vegetal mold which covered the whole structure. This was levered over with sticks in the hope that on its under surface might be found a hieroglyphic inscription recording a date. Considerable disappointment was experienced, however, on finding only three layers of tough stucco covering the under surface, on which it is not improbable that an inscription had originally been painted, as happened not infrequently among the later Maya. The discovery of well-built walls near the summit of the mound gave us hope that they might form part of a burial chamber containing grave furniture similar to that found some years ago in the large mound forming part of a group in this region, close to the Rio Hondo. Clearing was carried out around the walls, and they were found to enclose a small chamber 14 feet long by 5 feet broad and 4 feet high, which contained nothing except squared blocks of limestone, fragments of cement, and rubble and earth. It seemed probable that the roof had at some period caved in, exposing the chamber, the contents of which had been removed by Indians of the neighborhood, and that at a later period a further slide had taken place from the top of the mound, filling in the burial vault with rubble, stones, and earth. As will be seen later, this site was occupied during the Maya Reoccupational Period, probably up to if not subsequent to the conquest, by people in a far lower state of culture than the builders of the mounds containing burial cysts, and it is probable that they may have been responsible for the removal of the contents of this chamber.

Excavation was continued beneath the stucco floor of the chamber, no easy matter, as the mound was solidly constructed of squared blocks of limestone held together by mortar, forming a compact mass of masonry. On reaching a depth of 12 feet beneath the chamber floor and 37 feet beneath the summit of the mound, this was given up as hopeless.

On the following day a wizened old Indian named Hau, who had been engaged on the work, came up and with an air of great mystery said that during the night he dreamed that he had discovered a great treasure of jade and painted pottery in a chamber in the mound; also, would we permit him to go on digging on his own account, and what reward would he receive if he found the treasure.

He had the reputation of being something of a prophet among the Indians, though I suspected him of having secreted some valuables from the excavation while our backs were turned, but rather than lose this I gave him leave to dig on his own account, promising a reward for anything exceptionally good found.

The old man had a little son of 10 years who accompanied him everywhere, who he admitted with a grin was a great thief and always in mischief, but when with him "a good boy". The same afternoon this little lad turned up in camp with a message from his father saying he had "found the bones of a giant". On following him up the mound, there, true enough, at the bottom of the excavation, 11 feet below the floor of the upper chamber, was a stone cyst measuring 8 feet by 3 feet by 2½ feet high, in which lay the skeleton, fully extended upon its back, of an adult male between 68 and 69 inches in height. Hau had evidently partially opened this cyst while digging on the previous day, kept the knowledge to himself until we gave up further excavation as hopeless, and then invented the dream to obtain the promise of a reward, hoping to find jade and painted pottery in the cyst.

The long diameter of the upper chamber ran north and south, but of the lower one east and west, and the lower lay at the southern extremity of and 11 feet below the upper chamber.

It was built of well-cut blocks of limestone and roofed with flat flags.

The corpse had evidently been wrapped in fine palm-leaf matting at burial, as traces of this were found over the upper part of the body, light and fragile as thistledown and disintegrating almost at once when exposed to the air. Beneath the skeleton, on the floor of the cyst, was a quanity of soft reddish-brown material which may possibly represent the decayed remnants of the garments in which the corpse was clothed at burial, beneath the palm-leaf matting wrapping. The same condition was found by Merwin at Holmul, where traces of red and brown material were found around several of the skeletons and traces of casts from the palm-leaf matting upon the stucco in contact with them. The legs had been encased in stucco up to the pelvis and traces of the matting were very clearly imprinted on this. At Holmul, in Guatemala, Skeleton I in Group III, Ruin X, appears to have been buried under precisely similar conditions. The corpse lay upon its back, arms at the sides and legs extended, while the lower parts of the legs were covered with lime mortar. In this case also the bones were those of a young adult, and vestiges of the perished grave clothes lay beside it.

The skeleton was moved with difficulty, as the bones though perfect were extraordinarily fragile. Unfortunately, though well packed the skull was badly broken up on its various journeys by pack mule, motor boat, and train. Fortunately, however, the two measurements of most importance were taken on the spot, namely, the maximum length, which was 17.2. cm, and the maximum breadth 15.3 cm. The report by Mr. Cave, Assistant Conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons, on such parts of the skeleton as reached him is as follows:

> The skull has been crushed and is now a mass of small fragments impossible of restoration. Certain recognizable portions recur, however—the frontal and two petromastoids, most of occipital, the mandible, the hard palate and maxillae, the basi occiput. The rest of the vault and base is excessively comminuted.
>
> The highly developed mastoids are very powerfully developed: the glenoid fossa is capacious, with a vigorous anterior view. The occipital condyles are large and well formed; like the joint surfaces of the anterior two vertebrae they are quite healthy. The frontal fragments reveal a vertically disposed forehead, very rudimentary supraorbital processes, and relatively small frontal sinuses. Large healthy tooth sockets characterize the maxillary fragments. The aperatura pyriformis has a sharp inferior margin (i. e., no simian groove). The mandible is a large, coarsely built, and powerful bone, with a square-cut ascending ramus. Its teeth are all healthy and of good size and shape: the molars show a very slight crown wearing.
>
> The available anatomical evidence indicates the individual having been a young, active, adult male, of good physique. The nature of the remains precludes any attempt at reference to racial type, as also any opinion as to whether artificial cranial deformation had been present or not.

This skull differs very markedly from those presently to be described, which are highly brachycephalic and typically Maya. Moreover, the individual buried here was, in his height, 68 to 69 inches, at least 5 inches taller than the average Maya height, which ranges from 60 to 64 inches in different localities.

The cranial and skeletal differences are so marked as to suggest an individual of a race differing from the Maya, at least of the Reoccupational Period.

No grave furniture accompanied the corpse, with the exception of a single small round bead of bright green jade which was found resting on the upper cervical vertebrae and had probably been placed in the mouth of the corpse at burial. The practice of placing a piece of jade in the mouth of the corpse, though not uncommon in Mexico, was of rare occurrence among the Maya of the Old Empire. Among the Aztecs a piece of jade was placed with the ashes of the dead in a jar to represent the soul.

The cementing down of the lower part of the body is a peculiar custom but not unknown in other parts of the Maya area, as Merwin in excavating a Maya mausoleum at Holmul found the same procedure carried out in several of the interments.

This great mound with its extensive substructure must have taken a considerable time to build, as at a rough computation between 20 and 30 thousand tons of material had been used in their construction, a considerable proportion of which consisted of well-cut blocks of limestone which, with only stone tools available, must have required for their manufacture either a great number of workers or a long period of time.

It may be that, like the Egyptian and Khmer rulers, the Maya Halach Uinic, or high priest, commenced the construction of his mausoleum some time before his death, or his remains may have been transferred from some other grave for secondary burial in the pyramid. It is unfortunate that the contents of the upper chamber had been removed, as it is now impossible to say whether it also was a burial chamber or merely a receptacle for the grave furniture of the occupant of the lower chamber. Merwin, in the oldest burial at Holmul, found the bones in a small cyst only a little more than a foot below the main chamber, which contained only pottery of a high class. At San Antonio, Quintana Roo, Mexico, some of the burial mounds contained three superimposed chambers, one of which usually held the corpse, the others the grave furniture.

It is possible, of course, that this pyramid was not intended primarily for sepulchral purpose, but that the upper chamber had contained a number of dedicatory offerings placed beneath the stela, a fragment of which was found on the side of the mound, where it had evidently fallen from the summit. This procedure is found at Copan, where in substelar vaults beautiful objects of jade and pottery are found.

Should this be the case the single interment beneath the vault may represent a sacrifice made at the dedication of the stela beneath which it was buried.

A trench was dug through the long mound, or bank, bounding the west side of the plaza, immediately south of the mound last described.

This was 195 feet in length, 60 feet in breadth, and 22 feet high. It was covered by an accumulation of vegetal mold averaging 1 foot in thickness, beneath which it was constructed of tightly packed blocks of limestone and marl dust. The trench was dug nearly to the center of the mound, or down to the ground level, and 30 feet from its edge a wall 6 feet high, built of well-cut blocks of limestone, was uncovered, evidently the wall of some large building. It rested on a solid masonry foundation, also 6 feet high, which had probably formed part of the substructure upon which the building stood. This wall continued unbroken by any opening along the short distance that its course was followed.

An excavation was made in a second of these long mounds, to the west of the large burial mound, and here precisely the same condition was encountered; a long, well-built wall running nearly through the center of the mound, standing on a solid substructure, which with the building on top of it had been completely covered over at a later period to form the present long mound.

The following is an account of the excavation undertaken in the mounds in the vicinity of Nohmul.

MOUND 1

This mound was situated about half a mile east of Nohmul. It was pyramidal in shape, 20 feet high, and very steep sided. The top of the mound, to a depth of 6 feet, was constructed of rubble, stones, and marl dust firmly packed together. At this depth a small chamber was encountered. It was built of roughly squared stones and measured 140 inches from east to west by 46 inches from north to south and 47 inches in height. It was roofed by a crude cantilever arch. The mound all around the chamber was built of well-cut limestone blocks averaging 12 by 8 inches by 4 inches in thickness, held together by friable mortar.

A few weeks after opening the chamber it was found to be occupied by a host of small frogs and tiny black lizards, though how they got in was a mystery unless they were born there, and certainly food and escape must have presented a serious problem, as there was nothing edible in the chamber, while a 2-foot perpendicular leap separated them from the outside world.

The floor of the chamber was covered with a layer of fine marl sand 6 inches thick, in and on which were found a number of objects, including human bones in a very poor state of preservation. Beneath the loose sandy layer was a cement-like floor of mortar and stones, and underneath this a layer of black vegetal mold varying from 6 to 10 inches in thickness, which rested on the substructure of the mound solidly built of blocks of limestone, many of them squared, the interstices between which were filled in with marl dust and friable mortar.

A single skeleton lay on its back nearly in the center of the floor, in the extended position, the head pointing toward the east. The corpse had apparently been placed on top of the loose sandy layer in which most of the objects accompanying it were partially or completely buried. The fragments of the skull lay about 3 feet from the eastern wall of the chamber. At each angle of the eastern end 20 large, roughly spherical polished green jade beads were found, and just in front of the skull two fresh-water shells, *Ampullaria insularum*, known locally as hooties, one large, one small, both perforated by a large round hole. On the left side of the skull were 10 crude chert spear heads and one very finely chipped flint implement 9 inches in length (pl. 1, *1*). This, with its needlelike point, sharp cutting edges, and bent handle would have been singularly well adapted for carrying out human sacrifices by the method, commonest among the Aztecs, of severing the costal cartilages in order to extract the victim's heart through the wound. Beside this lay sherds of a cylindrical polychrome lacquer vase of thin, fine-grained pottery, painted red, yellow, black, and brown, on which is depicted, on a white background, a male figure with a broad collar surrounding the neck, and the face projecting from the open jaws of a serpent. He wears a short kiltlike maxtli, and around both wrists are strings of beads. His left hand holds two cords and his right a staff, or spear, decorated with a plume of feathers, in front of which is a very elaborate feather-decorated object, possibly part of the headdress of a second warrior standing in front of him (pl. 2, *1*). Judging by the curve of this sherd the diameter of the vessel would have been about 18 cm. It was unfortunate that the other fragments of this vase were missing, as it must have been one of the finest examples of polychrome pottery yet found in the Maya area.

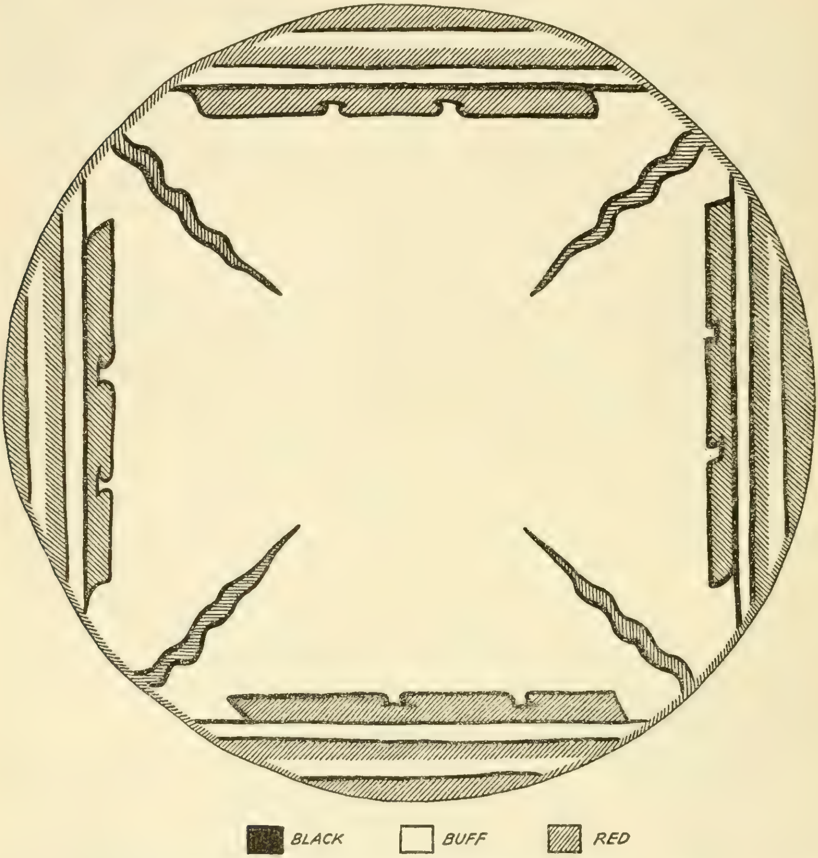

Figure 2.—Polychrome disc found in fragments in chamber Mound 1. 19½ by 4½ inches.

To the right of the skull were fragments of a large round polychrome lacquer dish, 50 cm in diameter and 12 cm deep, more fragments of which were found near the left foot, though not enough to complete the entire dish (fig. 2). It was decorated in red, yellow, and black, and on the interior, on a yellow background, a geometrical ornament was repeated four times. Apparently these two vessels were regarded as so valuable that even the fragments were buried with their owner, for too much of both vessels is missing for this to have been an instance of the usual "killing" of objects placed with the dead. By the side of both the right and the left arm were found a number of chert spear heads, similar to those found near the head, and over the front of the chest a pendant of exceptionally fine dark-green mottled jade (pl. 3, *1*). This is 14 cm long by 2.5 cm broad, and is carved to represent a human figure, evidently the model of a Maya stela, though without a date, as on the sides and back are portrayed only the dress and ornaments of the individual. The headdress consists of the head of some mythological monster; the eyes are wide open and staring, the pupils formed by hooks; large oval ear ornaments are worn, and from the upper lip depends a hook-shaped labret. The forearms are held over the chest, the hands placed back to back. The maxtli is held up by a broad, elaborately decorated belt, and falls to the feet both in front and behind. The pendant has been bored with remarkable skill through its long diameter, the perforation from one end meeting that from the other almost exactly in the center. It closely resembles one found beneath a stela in Old Copan dating probably, according to Morley, from the second Katun of Bactun Nine. The unusual position of the hands, held back to back over the chest, is characteristic of the oldest monoliths at Copan, so that on stylistic grounds it would appear that this ornament belongs to a very early period, and that its provenance may have been the city of Copan, from whence it may have passed as a trade piece to Nohmul.

The discovery of very fine pieces of jade carving at small provincial sites, too insignificant, one would suppose, to be able to afford such valuable jewels, and far removed from the great Maya cities where one would naturally expect to find them buried with important personages, or with ceremonial caches beneath stelae, is often puzzling to the archeologist. There are two possible explanations: either they may have been dug up from their original sites by a later people or they may possibly have been robbed from merchants traveling along the trade routes which existed between such cities as Copan and Quirigua to the south, Palenque and Piedras Negras to the west, and Uaxactun and Tikal to the east. Close to the right side of the pelvis was a large, coarse, basin-shaped vessel full of charcoal and charred fragments of human long bones. It was partially buried in the sand layer, and on endeavoring to remove it, it broke into innumerable fragments, so friable that it was found impossible to join them, as the basin originally had been very imperfectly fired. By the side of the right knee were two round buttonlike objects of shell, one plane and 3.5 cm in diameter, the other 2.5 cm in diameter, with a round boss on one side. In the same neighborhood an Indian digging a post hole found, about a foot below the surface, a similar shell disk with an elaborately decorated human head outlined upon it in shallow lines (pl. 3, *3*). It measures 3.5 cm in diameter and resembled so closely one found at Holmul by Mervin that they are not improbably the work of the same artist.

At the feet were a number of small pieces of jade, evidently fragments of broken ornaments, and at the extreme west of the chamber, buried in the sand covering the floor, nearly 200 obsidian knives and cores, two small cowrie shells perforated for suspension, and a string of 13 very small perforated red shell disks made from spondylus shells, with which was a single very thin circular ear plug of bright green translucent jade, 3.5 cm in diameter. It is curious that in opening Maya graves one so frequently comes across single ear ornaments; this may possibly be due to economy on the part of the friends and relations of the deceased; it is, however, I think more probable that a single ear plug was worn to designate the rank of the individual, for the same practice is still in common use among the Santa Cruz Indians of Yucatan, whose chiefs wear a single large gold ear pendant which differs in pattern according to their rank.

The spear heads, the implement which, as suggested, may have been used in opening the chest of the sacrificial victim, and the obsidian knives were all freely smeared with a paint composed chiefly of red ocher, and the same substance in the form of powder had been scattered over them, though it was absent from the other objects.

This mineral has been found at other Maya sites associated with flint and obsidian knives and weapons, and it may possibly have been used to symbolize the blood with which their use was usually accompanied.

Almost the whole of this mound was later dug down. It was found to be solidly built throughout of blocks of limestone, the interstices between which were filled with friable mortar and marl dust. Near the summit of the south side was found a thimble-shaped object of jade with a narrow projecting rim around the opening, probably worn either as a labret or ear plug.

Toward the center of the south side, buried in the structure of the mound, three rather remarkable vessels were found placed close together. The largest of these (pl. 4, *5*) was a nearly spherical vessel made of thin, fine pottery covered with a lacquer of very pleasing dark orange color and so brightly polished that it appeared to have been glazed. The vessel was 27 cm high by 23 cm in its greatest diameter, the opening surrounded by a narrow rim 9 cm in diameter. The base was so pointed that the vessel could not stand alone, and was used necessarily with some sort of chuyub, or ring, such as the modern Maya employ for supporting utensils made from calabashes, though this, which may have been made of woven split cane or some such perishable material, was not found with it. That such a support was used is evidenced by the striations penetrating the lacquer all around the base of the vessel. The second vessel was a small bowl of hard, thin ware, 14 cm in diameter by 6.5 cm deep. The basic color is a bright orange red over which has been applied a black slip which has worn off, or been deliberately removed in places, producing a very pleasing mottled effect in two colors. Both the outer and inner surfaces of the bowl had been treated in this way, and both are polished. The third vessel (pl. 4, *1*) is made of fine, thin pottery with a yellowish red veneer and high polish. It measures 17 cm in length and 11 cm in depth, and is an almost perfect reproduction of an *Ampullaria insularum* shell. On the upper part of the vessel, as if emerging from the shell opening, is a well-modeled human head wearing a conical headdress, with a twisted band around the forehead and large round ear ornaments.

A similar vessel, but of much cruder workmanship, and belonging to the Maya Reoccupational Period, was found on an island in the Lagoon of Om, in British Honduras; this also represents a human head emerging from the opening of some univalvular shell.

MOUND 2

This mound was situated to the east of Nohmul, close to the little Indian settlement of Santa Rita. It was 22 feet high, conical in shape, and its steep sides were covered with dense undergrowth which had to be removed before work began on it. The cap of the mound beneath the vegetal mold, which had collected to a depth of several inches all over it, was composed of irregular blocks of limestone, the interstices between which were filled with marl dust to form a very solid structure. This was removed to a depth of 5 feet 6 inches, where a floor of flat, smooth stucco, averaging 8 inches in thickness, was encountered. About halfway between the summit of the mound and the stucco floor a single interment was found, the bones of which were in a very poor state of preservation, as they were not enclosed in any cyst or chamber but were in direct contact everywhere with the mound structure itself. They were so fragmentary, indeed, that it was impossible to say in what position the body had originally been buried. Close to the skeleton was a single shallow dish, 32 cm in diameter. It was of the coarse pottery covered with a red slip such as was manufactured by the Maya from the earliest times until after the conquest.

Beneath the stucco floor and in contact with its under surface was a layer of black earth varying from 3 to 6 inches in thickness, on removing which a row of large, roughly squared stones was discovered, forming the roof of a chamber running down through the center of the mound. The chamber measured 65 by 50 inches by 9 feet in height and was divided into four compartments, nearly equal in size, by three floors of flat stone flags placed across its lumen. All these compartments were loosely filled with fine marl sand, and each contained portions of human skeletons, so fragmentary that it was impossible to determine the position of the corpse at burial. With each skeleton was a single pottery vessel but no other grave furniture of any description.

In the uppermost cyst, immediately beneath the roof, was a very fine polychrome lacquer bowl, or dish (pl. 2, *5*) 33 cm in diameter and 9 cm high. It is of composite silhouette outline with flat annular base, and is decorated in red, yellow, and black. The interior is colored yellow throughout, and on the outer surface of the rim and the upper surface of the flange is a geometrical figure repeated twice, the two parts being joined by a highly conventionalized bird. This vessel was recovered whole.

In the second cyst were found fragments of human long bones together with a very fine polychrome lacquer bowl (pl. 2, *3* and *4*) 25.5 cm in diameter by 13 cm high. It is of composite silhouette outline with flat annular base, and is supported on four hollow pyramidal legs. It is decorated in red, yellow, and black on an orange background. On the interior of the bowl are represented two intertwined crested serpents, and both the interior and exterior of the rim are ornamented by geometrical devices repeated six times on the former and five on the latter. This bowl was unfortunately broken in excavating it, and had not been "killed" before burial as was the case with much of the ceramic material removed from this site.

In a small recess on the north side of this cyst, which was filled with marl dust, were fragments of human bones together with a single black lacquer bowl of composite silhouette outline (pl. 4, *2*) with flat annular base and spout for pouring out the contents. This bowl had not been "killed" before burial, but was unfortunately broken in removing it, owing to the narrowness of the recess in which it lay and the tightness with which it was packed in its bed of marl dust and fragments. It measured 17 cm in diameter by 11.5 cm in depth

Almost exactly similar vessels, also in black lacquer, were found by Merwin at Holmul, and belong, according to Vaillant's classification, to Holmul III Period.

Fragments of human bones were found in recess 3 accompanied by a single small polychrome cylindrical vessel 11.5 cm high and decorated with geometrical devices in red, black, and yellow. In the lowest cyst, with fragments of human bones, was found a single shallow plate of porous pottery, 34 cm in diameter and 5.5 cm deep, of simple silhouette outline, standing on a flat base. The outside of this vessel was unpainted. The interior was colored and highly polished. On a dark-brown background were outlined in black a number of curious amoeboid objects, each differing from the others in shape. This is a form of ceramic ornamentation never previously encountered in the Maya area. The bottom of the lowest cyst was covered with a layer of large, roughly squared blocks of limestone beneath which was a layer of black alluvial earth varying from 2 to 6 inches in thickness. Below this the base of the mound was solidly constructed of irregular blocks of limestone and marl dust.

These layers of black alluvial earth, called "ek lum" by the Maya, of a type which is regarded by the modern Indians as the most suitable soil on which to cultivate their maize crops, were found in nearly all the large burial mounds, forming a thin layer either above or below the vault containing the corpse. They cannot have added to, but must rather have detracted from, the stability of the mounds, which were built of squared blocks of stone held together by loose mortar, or of irregular blocks of limestone the spaces between which were filled in with marl dust, and it is possible that they had some ceremonial significance, possibly connected with fertility, or survival after death, which the exceptionally fertile earth may have symbolized.

A curious incident occurred in connection with the excavation of this mound. Digging in the white marl under the grilling rays of the tropical sun is exhausting work, and the men had left a large tree on the side of the mound whose overhanging branches partly shaded the opening of the chamber while they were at work within it. One day a large hawk flew over, holding a small snake with its beak and one claw, and made toward the tree as if about to settle upon it and enjoy its meal, but spying the men, it dropped the snake and flew off with an angry scream. The snake, which proved to be a small 2-foot rattler, fell into the hole, to the consternation of the laborers, but was soon dispatched as it was too badly injured to be dangerous. Of the six burials which this mound contained, the bones of all were in such an advanced stage of decay that it was impossible to say whether the interments were primary or secondary.

The burial which had taken place in the cap of the mound, between the summit and the roof of the burial chamber, was probably of later date than those in the chamber itself, though unfortunately the single vessel which accompanied it affords no basis for period fixing on stratigraphic lines, for this type of vessel is found throughout all periods of the Maya occupation. In the chamber itself the vessels found with the four upper burials belong undoubtedly to Vaillant's Holmul III period, while the vessel found in the lowest cyst is unusual in shape and unique in decorative motif, though a bowl of this shape was found by Thompson at Tzimin Kax in the Cayo District of British Honduras. At the same site were also found polychrome bowls of compound silhouette outline closely resembling the vessel found in compartment 2 in the burial chamber of Mound 2, except that they stand on three and not four legs. It seems probable that all the burials within the cyst took place at the same period, and that the mound was built to contain the remains of five persons who had been buried elsewhere. At a later date the height of the mound was increased by the addition of a cap of limestone blocks and marl dust in which a sixth burial was made, but how long after the first five it is impossible to tell.

Mound 3

This mound was situated close to Mound 2, in a corn plantation which had first been cleared of bush. It was in the shape of a truncated cone, 15 feet in height and 180 feet in circumference, and was very solidly built throughout of limestone blocks, rubble, and marl dust tightly packed together, which rendered its excavation very difficult. Near the center of the mound, at a depth of 8 feet from the surface, a smooth, hard, level stucco floor was encountered, 6 inches thick, and at a depth of 4 feet beneath this, tightly packed within the material of which the mound was constructed, three pottery vessels were found. The first of these (pl. 2, *2*) was a polychrome vase decorated in red and black on an orange yellow background. It was spheroidal in shape with an unusually high, somewhat everted rim, and measured 13 cm in its greatest diameter by 12 cm in height. The rim was decorated by a band composed of alternate red and black rectangles, and on the outside of the body, also in red and black, were depicted two highly conventionalized serpents. The second vessel was a shallow polychrome bowl with composite silhouette outline and low annular base, measuring 28 cm in diameter by 11 cm in depth. It was decorated in red and black on an orange background. Around the outer surface of the rim were depicted two highly stylized parrotlike birds and two ornamental geometrical devices (fig. 3).

Within this bowl were 60 spheres of imperfectly baked clay, each 1.75 cm in diameter, which had probably been used as markers, or counters in some game, for not having been bored they could not have served as beads. The third vessel was a shallow circular orange-colored saucer, 15.5 cm in diameter. All these vessels were polished and the last two had evidently been broken before interment, as the fractured surfaces clearly indicated. This mound was excavated to the ground level but nothing further was discovered within it. Judging from the analogy of other similar mounds excavated in the vicinity, notably at San Andres and Pueblo Nuevo, it would appear that this was originally a house mound, the stucco floor representing the floor of the house raised on a low, solid substructure. On the death of the owner, among the Maya, we know that not infrequently he was buried beneath the floor of his house with some of his possessions, after which a mound was erected on the site of the house. Usually with burials of this kind bones are found, which in this case may have disintegrated so completely that not even the teeth, which outlast all other skeletal remains, survived. The absence of other objects, such as ornaments, weapons, and implements used by the deceased during his life and buried with him for use in the next world is, if this be a house-mound burial, far more difficult to explain.

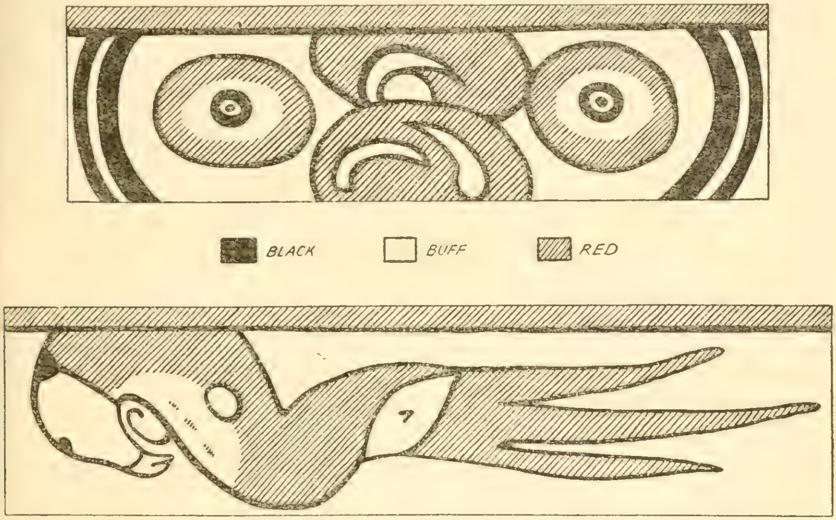

FIGURE 3.—Decoration on exterior of polychrome vessel from Mound 3.

The second vessel appears to indicate that this burial belonged to the Holmul III period, though the spheroidal vessel with high rim does not occur at Holmul.

Mound 4

This mound was situated about a mile to the east of Nohmul. It was roughly pyramidal, 30 feet in diameter by 5 feet in height, and beneath the cap of vegetal mold was constructed of tightly packed rubble, marl dust, and limestone blocks. Near the center, almost on the ground level, skeletal remains were found, in a very advanced stage of decay. The corpse appeared to have been buried lying on its back fully extended. With the bones were two rather curious vessels. The first was shaped somewhat like a champagne glass (fig. 4, *b*) with a hollow cylindrical stem. It measured 18 cm across the rim of the cup and 15.25 cm in height. The lower end of the stem had evidently been closed at one time, as the edges were rough where the bottom appeared to have been broken away. The whole of the interior, both of the cup and the stem, was covered with the black deposit one finds in the interior of censers used for burning "pom", or incense made from the gum of the white acacia, such as was employed by the pre-Columbian Maya in their religious ceremonies, and is still in use by their modern descendants. It was probably used as a hand censer, as it could not have stood upright on the narrow base afforded by the stem, unless this were much larger than the bore of the latter.

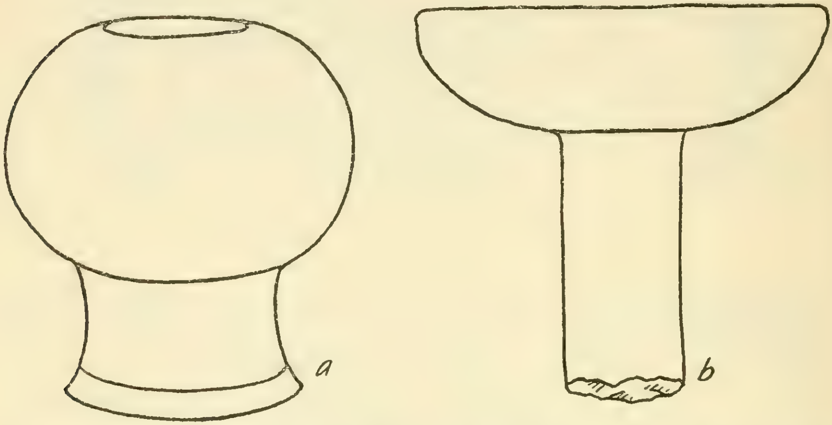

Figure 4.—*a*, Vessel standing on high annular base, from Mound 4. *b*, Champagne-glass-shaped censer from Mound 4.

The second vessel (fig. 4, *a*) was almost spherical in shape, with a round opening above and supported below on a high annular base the margin of which was everted to form a secure stand for the bowl to rest upon. The total height of the bowl was 15.25 cm. This is the only vessel supported on a high annular base found at this site. Similar vessels were found by Merwin in the oldest burials at Holmul, and by Thompson at Cahal Cunil. They are ascribed by Vaillant to Holmul I Period. They were probably evolved from the pot with hemispherical base which could only stand upright on a ring stand of pottery, plaited split cane, or sisal. It would seem to have been simpler to make an ordinary flat-bottomed vessel, but it may be that some ceremonial significance was attached to this shape, as a good many of them bear traces of having been used as censers, and from them were undoubtedly developed the hourglass censers of the Maya Reoccupational Period. The interior of this vessel was also blackened from the smoke of pom, and it had evidently been a small standing censer. Both vessels were of rough unpainted pottery such as was used by the later Maya in the construction of the censers decorated with a human figure, or face, found so commonly associated with late burials all through this region. Vessels of both these types are extremely rare in the Maya area, and no other objects were buried with this individual who may possibly have been a Men or Maya village priest of the lowest order.

MOUND 5

This mound was situated close to Mound 4, which it resembled closely in size and shape. It also was built of tightly packed rubble and marl dust beneath the superficial layer of vegetal mold. Near the center of the mound, on the ground level, parts of a human skeleton were found in a very fragmentary condition, beside which was a spheroidal bowl of red polished pottery 18 cm in diameter standing on a low annular base with a large round opening at the top.

This vessel is almost exactly similar to those used by the modern Maya to keep their tortillas or corn cakes warm. The cakes are wrapped in a napkin and placed within the pot, the corners of the napkin being folded over them to retain the heat, and turned back every time the diner wishes to extract a fresh tortilla.

Close to this pot was a very fine ax head of flint (pl. 1, *3*, *d*) 25.5 cm in length by 7 cm in breadth, the cutting edge of which was still polished from use. Near the ax head was a small leaf-shaped spear or javelin head of flint 7.5 cm in length.

This, from its contents, would appear to have been the burial mound of an adult male whose tortilla pot, ax, and spear head were placed beside his corpse.

MOUND 6

This mound was situated close to Mounds 4 and 5, which it closely resembled in size, shape, and construction. At the center of the mound, on the ground level, fragments of human bones were found, close beside which was a large shallow round bowl of polished red ware, 41 cm in diameter, resting on a low annular base. With this was the upper part of the figurine of a woman, from the waist up (pl *3*, *2*, *c*). Part of her headdress had been broken away, but enough remained to show that below a beaded band her hair was parted in the middle and brushed to each side over her ears. She wore large round ear ornaments in her ears and a high-necked garment over which her arms were folded, the hands grasping some round object held over the center of her chest. This figurine had originally been painted blue over a white wash, but a good deal of the color had worn off, especially in the exposed places. It appears to have been originally part of a whistle, made in a mold, and is almost exactly like those found in such large numbers at Lubaantun in the southwest of British Honduras, and may not improbably have been derived from that city, which appears to have been the center from which this type of whistle figurine was distributed over a wide area. It was found at Lubaantun that the sex of the occupant of a grave was frequently indicated by the sex of the figurine buried with them, which latter could always be determined by the nature of the clothing and ornaments. If this holds good for the Nohmul area, this mound would be the grave of a female.

The three mounds last described form part of an extensive group in the same neighborhood. No other mounds in this group were excavated, as they all appear to be burial mounds of persons of the lower class, with whom it is unlikely that objects of any great value or interest would have been buried. The soil in the neighborhood is very fertile, and particularly well adapted for the cultivation of maize. On and around it today are scattered a number of little Maya villages containing from 2 or 3 to 15 or 20 houses, whose inhabitants live entirely on the produce of their milpas, or corn plantations, in which they cultivate not only maize but sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, plantains, oranges, bread fruit, cotton, and tobacco, which render them almost, and at a pinch entirely, self-supporting and independent of supplies from outside their own villages.

Owing to its fertility this area has probably been occupied from early Old Empire days up to the present time, and the burial mounds scattered over it may cover a period of 10 centuries or more. Vaillant places vessels with higher annular base in Holmul I Period, the pottery of which possesses many characteristics of Lothrop's Q complex class, to which he ascribes a very early date. The only vessel of this type found at Nohmul, however, belongs to a very late period, and may even be slightly post-Columbian.

MOUND 7

This was a small mound situated on the savanna to the east of Nohmul. It was 5 feet high and approximately 25 feet in diameter. In all these mounds it was difficult to estimate accurately their original size, for whereas the rains of many wet seasons had reduced their height by washing material from the top, they had at the same time added to their breadth by depositing it at the base of the mounds.

The mound, beneath an outer covering of vegetal mold, was composed of rubble and marl dust, mingled with a good deal of soil. Resting on the summit, covered only by the mold which had accumulated over them since they were deposited there, were fragments of a human figurine in coarse pottery, which had evidently formed the exterior decoration of a late Maya censer. The body of the figurine and the censer to which it belonged had been broken into small pieces and scattered broadcast over the surface of the mound, but the head, which was well modeled, with applique ornaments and ear plugs, was almost intact (pl. 5, *2*); it was 11.5 cm wide between the outer edges of the ear plugs. The upper part of the headdress was missing; the lower consisted of a flat, tight-fitting cap with double rows of beads covering the forehead, from which descended on each side tassels reaching to the upper margins of the large round ear ornaments. A stud was worn just over the nose which, unlike most noses found on the censers, was slightly retrousse; small labrets were worn at each angle of the mouth and the chin was remarkably pointed and prominent.

This mound was excavated to the ground level, and about 2 feet from the surface, almost in the center of the mound, a human skeleton was found, the bones of which were still in a moderately good state of preservation. The corpse had evidently been buried in the dorsal position and fully extended. The bones were those of a person of considerable age, certainly over 60 years, judging by the appearance of the inferior maxilla which was preserved almost entire. The body of this bone was greatly atrophied and the dental sockets completely obliterated, so that its possessor during life must have masticated his food with his gums alone. Moreover, the angle between the body and the ramus of the bone instead of being about 90° was about 130°. Not enough of the skull remained to render it possible to take accurate measurements, but enough was found to make it evident that it was decidedly brachycephalic in character. Beside the skeleton were a leaf-shaped flint spear head 15 cm in length, two small scrapers of chert, and a guitar-shaped copper depilatory 3.5 cm in length, covered with green incrustation. This mound was certainly of much later date than most of the other burial mounds excavated, as the bones though placed under less favorable conditions, i. e., nearer the surface and covered by a mixture of earth and marl dust, were in a far better state of preservation than those found in the others; moreover, copper was unknown to the Maya of the Old Empire, and was introduced at a comparatively late date to the inhabitants of this area, as is shown by the fact that none of the other graves, though their furniture was far more elaborate, yielded a single object made of metal.

The only other instance known in British Honduras of broad-bladed tweezers for the removal of hair being found associated with a burial was at Santa Rita, where it was discovered in the grave of a woman, with an iron pyrites mirror, red ocher powder, and other toilet requisites. Unpainted clay censers, usually hourglass shaped and decorated on their outer surfaces with an elaborately clothed and ornamented human figurine, appear to have been manufactured by the late Maya inhabitants of this region in great numbers. They sometimes show traces of having been painted blue over a white slip, but the paint has usually worn off except in very protected places, where traces of it may be still discerned.

They are frequently associated with burial mounds, occasionally buried with the corpse, but more frequently broken and scattered over the surface of the mounds where after a time they have become covered with vegetal mold and so preserved both from the weather and from natives who pick them up as playthings for their children. They were invariably "killed", sometimes by being broken up into small fragments and strewn broadcast, so that it is impossible to reconstruct either censer or figurine, but at other times merely by breaking off the arms, legs, and hands and leaving them on the summit of the mound where they can be collected and partially restored. They are usually blackened inside by burning incense, and near San Andres one was found within a burial chamber still half full of unconsumed pom.

But these censers were employed for other than funerary purposes, as at a point about halfway between San Andres and Nohmul there is a very large mound built over the ruins of a stone building, probably a temple, all around the base of which innumerable fragments of both censers and figurines were found lying on the ground, covered only by a thin layer of vegetal mold, just as they were left by those who made sacrifice to their gods at the foot of the mound. Within a mile of this mound an Indian cultivating the soil near his hut came across a number of clay arms, legs, torsos, and other fragments, and we investigated the site. Over an area of from 60 to 100 square yards were scattered innumerable fragments of these censers, very numerous toward the center of the area but becoming fewer and more scattered toward the periphery. We found fragments of at least 20 figurines, though there were probably many more; only in one case, however, were we able even partially to reconstruct the entire figure, so small and scattered were the fragments. It was 27 cm in height from the heels to the double band which surrounded the forehead, above which the upper part of the headdress was missing (pl. 5, *1*). The nose was long and hooked. In the right ear was a large round ear ornament; that on the left side was missing. The front of the chest was covered by two large round medallions, and from the sides of the arms, reaching to the elbows, projected ornaments possibly meant to represent feathers; around the right wrist was a wristlet composed of spikelike objects, and around the upper part of the legs garters of similar objects, possibly shells or teeth. The left forearm and the front parts of both feet were missing. The right hand grasped what appeared to be the double handle of some object which had been broken off short.

MOUND 8

This mound was situated about 3 miles east of Nohmul, and when first found was covered with thick bush which had to be cleared off before excavation began. It was pyramidal in shape, 35 feet high, and approximately 300 feet in circumference. Excavation was commenced on the flattened summit and at a depth of less than 2 feet beneath the surface, covered by a layer of mixed rubble, marl dust, and blocks of limestone, a well-defined smooth stucco floor was discovered, from 4 to 6 inches thick, beneath which was a stratum of black earth also from 4 to 6 inches thick. Close to the under surface of this last layer, and near the center of the mound, a few decayed fragments of human bones were found, so disintegrated that it was impossible to tell from them the position of the corpse at burial; surrounding these bones and quite close to them, buried in the structure of the mound without any trace of a burial cyst, were five pieces of pottery.

The first of these was an unusually large bowl or dish of simple silhouette profile and oblique sides, orange red in color and polished. It was 47 cm in diameter by 6.5 cm deep. The second vessel was a polished black-ware bowl 37 cm in diameter by 7 cm in height, the sides of which were upright and the rim slightly everted. The third was a polished redware dish of simple silhouette profile, 35 cm in diameter by 7 cm deep. Its sides were slightly oblique and the rim everted.

All three vessels were badly pitted, probably by humic acid, and as they were firmly wedged in the tightly packed structure of the mound, all were more or less broken during extraction. Pitting by humic acid takes place almost invariably in polished vessels placed superficially in mounds, where they come in contact with the earth, and are moistened by every shower of rain, but pitting of vessels buried at such a depth beneath the surface and protected in addition by a layer of practically waterproof stucco is difficult to account for, except on the hypothesis that the vessels had first been exposed on the surface of the mound and later buried. All these vessels had been "killed" by means of holes punched in their bottoms.

The fourth vessel was a round bowl 16.5 cm wide by 9.5 cm high. It stood on a low annular base and was made of polished red ware. Unlike the others, neither this nor the next vessel to be described showed any signs of pitting. The last vessel (pl. 4, *6*) was a polished redware jar with spheroidal body and upright rim standing on a low annular base. It was supplied with three looped handles, probably for suspension, and measured 30.5 cm in width by 27 cm in height. The wide opening of this vessel, which was probably used to contain water, was covered by a scutate lid, the handle in the center of the convex surface of which was formed by a well-modeled parrot's head, the eyes of which were set far back in their sockets, and the pupils formed of small disks of pottery.

Three feet beneath the first interment, also centrally placed in the mound, fragments of the bones of another skeleton were found tightly packed in the structure of the mound, and beside these in contact with each other lay five flint implements.

The first of these was a large halbert-shaped weapon (pl. 1, *4*) 47 cm in length by 20.5 cm in breadth, ending in a crescent above, below which on the opposite side of the weapon was a long keen-edged spikelike projection. The second was a broad, keen-edged knife, 20 cm long, made from a single unworked piece of flint, triangular in section, struck straight from the core. The third was a triangular spear head 19 cm long, with a handle 5 cm long, which might possibly have been used as a dagger, hafted and held in the hand. The fourth was a narrow leaf-shaped spear head, and the last an ax head with rounded cutting edge, 16.5 cm long.

Several exceptionally large eccentrically shaped flints very similar to the one above described were found a few years ago in a stone-lined burial chamber within a large mound in the neighborhood of Nohmul. Among these was a halbert-shaped implement 44 cm in length, similar in every respect to the one described, except that it was somewhat heavier and the crescentic projection, instead of being placed above the sharp spikelike prolongation, was placed exactly opposite to it.

The other objects consisted of the life-sized figures of a rabbit and a turtle, a very long spear head, an object 44 cm in length, the top of which is hooked, the bottom pointed, and both edges serrated. and a crescentic implement 26 cm long by 17.5 cm wide, from the convexity of which project a long central spine and two smaller lateral ones. The only pottery vessel found in this mound was a small nearly spherical pot from the side of which projected the head of an animal with a long pig-like snout.

These are at the present time in the Liverpool Museum. Several very similar eccentrically shaped flint objects, the only history attached to which is that they were found in a cave on the Bay of Honduras toward the end of the eighteenth century, are now in the Wellcome Museum in London. It is not impossible that the provenance of these objects was the chamber within the great mound at Nohmul which, owing to a landslide on the side of the mound, had been exposed at some indeterminate period. From the chamber they may have been removed by the local Indians, from whom they found their way into the hands of mahogany cutters, for wood was being got out along the Nohukum River at that date, and there was no doubt considerable trade between the wood cutters and the Indians, some of whom worked for them clearing bush for truck passes. From the mahogany cutters they would probably have passed to the hands of some sailing ship captain by whom they were carried to England.

A scutate pot lid with a parrot's head as a handle was found by Merwin at Holmul, very similar to that from Mound 8, though the vessel to which it apparently belonged was a large round bowl of complex silhouette outline, with an external flange, standing on a flat annular base. A vessel shaped like a peccary's head was also found there, very similar to that already referred to with a piglike head. Both of these vessels are placed by Vaillant in the Holmul III period. No eccentrically shaped flints were found at Holmul, but as they are found so closely associated with vessels of the Holmul III type, it is only reasonable to suppose that they also belong to the same period.

MOUND 9

About 2 miles to the southeast of Nohmul was situated a large mound, 50 feet in height and about 100 feet in diameter at the base, covered with dense bush which had to be removed before excavation was possible. Through the north side of the mound a trench was dug to the center, to a depth of 30 feet. Four feet below the top a thin stucco floor was encountered, beneath which was a layer of black earth varying a good deal in thickness. Above this the cap of the mound was composed of marl dust and rough blocks of stone, in which no potsherds were found. Five feet beneath the layer of black earth a second solidly made floor appeared, upon which stood the ruins of a building constructed of blocks of cut limestone, measuring 26 by 24 feet. On the south side the floor upon which this building stood extended beyond it as far as the edge of the mound, and it is possible that at one time the building was approached by a stairway leading up the south side of the mound, which has now completely fallen down or the stones from which were used in covering the building and forming a cap for the mound. At a depth of 12 feet below the second stucco floor a wall-like structure was encountered covered with a layer of hard stucco, 18 inches thick and painted dark red. This structure can hardly be termed a wall, as while its north face was covered throughout with stucco its south face blended with the structure of the mound, here consisting of tightly packed marl dust and blocks of limestone, through an irregular layer of cut-stone masonry. The wall ran due east and west and its north face was divided as follows: At the top was a rounded cornice 16 inches in length and 4 inches in breadth, beneath which was a recess 14 inches long followed by a projecting shelf 36 inches broad, upon which were found four pottery vessels and a quantity of carbon; beneath this the wall continued for 56 inches sloping outward, to end in a second recess, 9 inches long, which terminated in the stucco floor at the base of the building (fig. 5).

The ledge, *C* in the plan, had been covered with a layer of carbon averaging a quarter of an inch in thickness, above which was a layer of loose friable mortar, and standing on this were the four small vessels of pottery. All were of rather thick, clumsy ware painted a dark red and polished. It is possible that these vessels were not intended for everyday use, but solely as dedicatory offerings placed on the wall of the temple when the mound was erected over it, as they have been so imperfectly fired that the surface layers were scaling off, and so friable that it was almost impossible to get them out entire, a condition only found before in one bowl in Mound 1.

The first was one of those curious spouted vessels somewhat resembling an ordinary teapot, except that the spout is usually longer and more vertical, fairly common in the Maya area (pl. 4, *3*). It was 15.25 cm high and 15.25 cm from the tip of the spout to the distal lip of the opening. The spout was connected by a short solid bar to the proximal lip of the vessel, and over the opening was placed a disk of thin red polished pottery, apparently chipped from a fragment of some large vessel. These spouted vessels are known as chocolate pots, though they must have been rather inconvenient to drink from, as the spout is often so nearly vertical, or even in some cases inclined inward toward the vessel, that it is impossible to do so without spilling the contents over the rim. The second vessel (pl. 3, *5*) was 7 inches in height, its nearly spherical body rested on a flattened base and its opening was surrounded by a wide flaring rim, near the junction of which with the body was a looped handle, another similar one being placed on the opposite side near the base of the vessel. The third pot (pl. 3, *6*) was similar in shape to the last, but half an inch higher. It also possessed two looped handles, both on the same side of the vessel close to the junction of the rim with the body. The fourth pot was almost exactly like the third except that it possessed three instead of two looped handles.

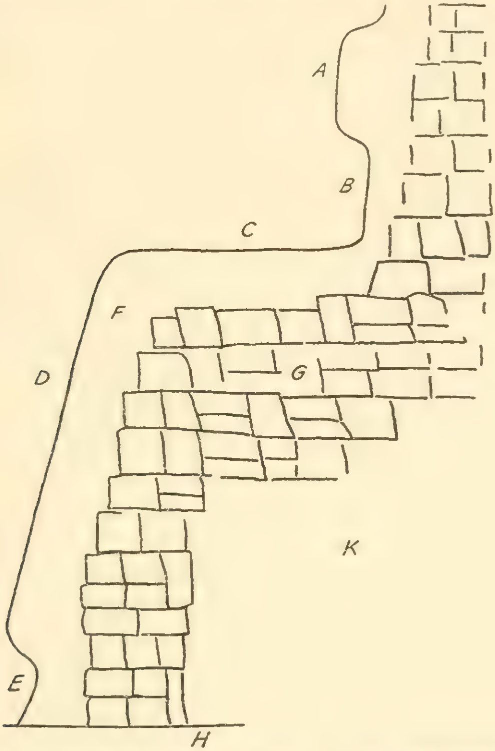

FIGURE 5.—Mound 9. Section through lower wall. *a*, Upper cornice. *b*, Recess. *c*, Ledge on which vessels were found. *d*, Sloping wall. *e*, Lower recess. *f*, Thick stucco layer covering wall. *g*, Cut-stone masonry. *h*, Stucco floor. *k*, Mound structure.

All these vessels were covered by round lids made from sherds of some large, thin, glazed red-ware vessel, and all held a considerable quantity of a grayish friable concretion, buried in which, in vessel No. 2, were small fragments of bone. It seems probable that all contained food offerings, which had disintegrated in the course of time, leaving nothing by which to identify them except a few fragments of bone.

Work on this mound was discontinued for several weeks after the north surface of the wall had been exposed at the bottom of the trench, and during this period some Indians from a neighboring village dug a large hole through the stucco and deep into the masonry at the back, continuing even through the structure of the mound itself. They were evidently in search of treasure, as they never appear to realize that any other motive could actuate us in our eternal digging than the discovery of treasure hidden by "los antiguos." This has happened to us on several previous occasions when walls have been encountered at the bottom of excavations, so much so that where any probability exists of their forming boundary walls of burial chambers, a guard has to be kept over them to warn off unauthorized excavators.

The excavation of the mound had not been nearly completed at the end of the season, nor had the extension of the stucco-covered wall to the east and west beyond the confines of the trench been exposed. There remains a vast amount of work still to be done on this mound in exposing the wall throughout its entire course and excavating the substructure. Owing to its large size and compact structure, it will probably require many weeks to explore it thoroughly.

It is possible to trace at least four stages in the construction of this mound. The first corresponds to the erection, on a pyramidal substructure of marl dust and blocks of limestone, of a building with walls covered by a thick layer of stucco painted red. At a later period this building was partially destroyed and over its ruins the original substructure was enlarged to form a second and loftier mound on the truncated summit of which was erected a second building of cut-stone blocks, which later was partly destroyed and over its ruins a second addition made to the mound, the summit of which was covered by a stucco floor which may have supported a building of wood or adobe brick, which has completely disintegrated. Finally over this last floor a third addition was made to the mound to form its present summit.

Mound 10

About 1¼ miles north of Nohmul a large mound was partially excavated. It was conical in shape, 30 feet high, and approximately 50 feet in diameter at the base. It was constructed throughout of marl dust and blocks of limestone, forming a solid, compact mass very difficult to excavate. A trench was dug in the side of the mound reaching its center, and 10 feet below the summit the convex stucco-covered top of a wall was uncovered, running east and west. On clearing the wall it was found to be 32 inches in thickness, 7½ feet in height, and covered throughout with grayish stucco, its base resting on a stucco floor. The space behind the wall was next cleared, and at a distance of 2 feet another wall was found, also covered with stucco, on which was molded a grotesque human face 3 feet in height.

This was unfortunately destroyed in the absence of the workmen, probably by Indians who made a hole in the wall in the hope of opening up a treasure chamber. Excavation was continued by the side of the first wall, to a depth of 6½ feet through the substructure on which the walls rested, but nothing further was encountered. No artifacts of any kind were found at any level in this mound, with the exception of a few potsherds, chiefly of thick, rough domestic vessels, such as were in use among the Maya at all periods.

MOUND 11

This mound was situated northeast of Mound 10 and close to it. It was 15 feet high, 30 feet long, and 18 feet broad, and was built of rubble, earth, and irregular blocks of limestone. Twelve feet below the surface a stucco floor was encountered, and resting on this, nearly in the center of the mound, were human bones and teeth. The bones were very fragmentary, but enough remained to indicate that the corpse had been buried in the fully extended position. By the side of the skeleton were two small roughly chipped ax heads of flint, one 9 cm, the other 4.5 cm in length, and the fragments of a round shallow polished dish of black ware, 30 cm in diameter. Nothing further was found in this mound.

MOUND 12

This mound was situated about half a mile southwest of Mound 10, and was of almost exactly the same dimensions as Mound 11. It was built of marl dust, rubble, and earth. At a depth of 8 feet from the summit of the mound a stucco floor appeared, on which lay fragments of a skeleton in the full extended position. Beneath the pelvis was a curious object made from hard limestone, closely resembling the brazo of a hand corn mill, but rectangular in section with rounded angles. It measured 30.5 cm in length, 7.5 cm in width, and 4 cm in depth; accompanying it were fragments of a shallow red-ware dish, badly broken and incomplete.

About 2 feet to the west of the bones, also resting on the stucco floor, was a portion of the brazo of a hand corn-rubbing stone, 25.5 cm in length, with which were incomplete fragments of a shallow black-ware dish.

MOUND 13

About 100 yards northwest of Mound 12 is a long, narrow ridge, or bank, near the center of which an excavation was made. It was composed of alternating layers of marl dust, rubble, and black earth. At a depth of 5 feet from the surface a stucco floor appeared upon which were found fragments of a human skeleton in the extended position. No artifacts whatever were found with this burial.

Five feet south of the first burial, and beneath the stucco floor, a second interment was discovered in which the corpse had evidently been buried in a squatting position with the knees drawn up under the chin. Close beside it was a shallow polished red-ware dish, 41 cm in diameter, which had evidently been "killed" when the burial took place.

Mounds 11, 12, and 13 appear to be burial mounds of people of the lower class, in which the owner was buried in his house and a mound subsequently heaped up over his remains. In burials of this kind among the Maya it was customary to place the corpse beneath the floor of the house, but here, with the exception of the second burial in Mound 13, all the corpses seem to have been merely laid on the floor and covered with a mound of earth, rubble, and marl. In all these mounds numerous potsherds were found, chiefly of rough, undecorated domestic pottery, probably picked up with the filler taken from the neighboring soil, but curiously enough no fragments were found of rough, unpainted censers so common in and on the burial mounds of the Maya Reoccupational Period, though the mounds themselves appear to be quite late in date.

There are a considerable number of small mounds in the vicinity, all probably similar in function, and doubtless marking the former site of a village.

Mound 14

This mound was situated about half a mile southwest of Nohmul. It was pyramidal in shape, 50 feet in diameter and 9 feet high, and was covered with a layer of vegetal mold from 3 to 4 inches thick. The upper part of the mound was built of marl dust and blocks of limestone, and at a depth of 13 inches beneath this a hard stucco floor 12 inches thick was encountered, under which was a thin stratum of black earth. On continuing the excavation beneath this, through marl dust and limestone boulders, a small chamber was encountered situated almost exactly in the center of the mound. It measured 6 feet in length, 17 inches in breadth, and 15 inches in height. It was roughly built of small pieces of limestone held together by friable mortar and was roofed by large flat flags of limestone. Within the chamber was a human skeleton, the bones of which were in a bad state of preservation. The corpse had been buried lying on its back in the fully extended position. The face had been covered by a polished red-ware bowl 19 cm in diameter and 7.5 cm deep. The bones were evidently those of an elderly person, as most of the teeth had disappeared from both the upper and lower jaw and their sockets had become atrophied. The long diameter of the chamber ran east and west, the head being placed toward the east.

MOUND 15

This mound was situated quite close to Mound 14. It was pyramidal in shape, nearly circular, 60 feet in diameter and 12 feet high (fig. 6). The excavation was begun in the center of the mound, and at a depth of 42 inches from the surface, through a layer composed chiefly of marl dust, the top of a stucco-covered wall was encountered. This proved to be the central wall of what had evidently been a building. At a depth of 50 inches the wall ended in a stucco floor and on clearing the spaces above the floor on each side of the wall two small rooms were disclosed, A and B on the plan. Room A was filled with dark-colored rubble, evidently picked up from the land, among which were a great number of potsherds, chiefly of rough domestic pottery, but also showing examples of nearly every variety of ware found in the district, including very fine polychrome, zoomorphic figures in dark red on a light-red background, black lacquer on a yellow ground, and red ware with incised designs painted black and polished. The most frequently recurring sherds were those of large, coarse oval jars decorated with oblique lines over the body, incised before the vessel had been fired, while the clay was still plastic. Chamber B was completely filled with marl dust. At a depth of 3 feet a stucco floor 2 inches thick appeared, and 14 inches beneath a second floor 4 inches thick continuous with that of Chamber A, the space between the two being filled with marl dust. Resting on the lower floor, near the northeast angle of the chamber, lay the proximal end of a small broken pottery flute and a clay malacate or spindle whorl, geometrical figures

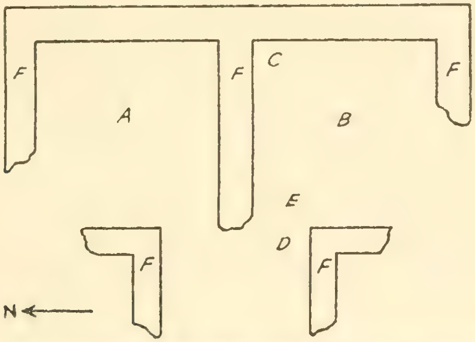

FIGURE 6.—Sketch plan of ruined house in Mound 15. *a*, North chamber. *b*, South chamber. *c*, Cache containing broken flute, etc. *d*, Cache containing conch, etc. *e*, Site of burial cyst. *f*, Walls.

roughly incised on both its upper and lower surfaces. On the same floor, at the point marked E in the plan, a second cache was found consisting of a small conch shell perforated in two places for suspension, having its apex smoothly cut off, probably for use as a trumpet, which purpose, notwithstanding its small size, it still serves; a small, poorly made leaf-shaped flint spear head 14 cm in length; a fragment of an obsidian knife, and a large concave segment of conch shell 17 cm in length, which may have served either as a vessel or a ladle for liquids. Within this were the following objects: 125 small, smooth, water-worn pebbles of white quartz, 23 disks of mother-of-pearl averaging half an inch in diameter, a few of them bored through the center, two spherical balls of clay, blackened in firing, each half an inch in diameter, and a small, hard cylinder of clay, 2 cm long by 1 cm in diameter, duplicating one found in Mound 22. Similar hard-clay cylinders were found in a grave near Corozal accompanied by a large number of shell disks. The clay balls closely resembled the 55 similar ones found in Mound 3, from which they differ only in being slightly larger and better fired.

It seems very probable that these objects were used in playing some game, as, though the nacre disks may have been employed as ornaments for the headdress or ear plugs, to which they could have been attached by some adhesive gum, it is difficult to imagine to what uses the pebbles and pottery spheres could have been put other than as counters or markers in a game. We know from Landa that a variety of games were played by the Maya before the arrival of Europeans, and the little pebbles are similar to those still used by the modern Maya in playing the game of chac, a species of knuckle bones. Excavation was carried on beneath the floors of chambers A and B, and to the west of both, through a layer composed of marl, sand, and boulders of limestone.

Near the northwest corner of chamber B, at a depth of 34 inches beneath the floor, a small burial chamber was opened up. This was built of irregular blocks of limestone held together by a friable mortar, and was roofed by large flags of limestone. It measured 6 feet in length by 14 inches in breadth and 15 inches in height, the long diameter running due north and south, and not east and west, as in the case of Mound 14. Within the chamber lay a human skeleton in the extended dorsal position. Covering the face was a bowl of yellow ware, over which had been applied a black slip. It measured 18 cm in diameter by 13 cm in height. The skull was broken into a number of fragments, the fractures appearing to have been carried out at or before the burial of the corpse. No other grave furniture was present in this cyst, nor were the bones partly buried in marl dust as was the case in the burial cyst in Mound 14.

Beneath the burial chamber lay a narrow stratum of black earth, under which the mound was built of the usual blocks of limestone and marl dust, to the ground level.

In excavating the top of this mound a small human head was discovered, of red pottery, evidently made in a mold (pl. 3, *2*, *b*). It measured 3 cm in height and width, and was so similar to those molded figurines from Lubaantun which adorn the whistles found at that site that it is quite possible it may have been imported from there as a trade piece. The upper part of the headdress has been broken away, as have most of the ear ornaments, but the lower part, consisting of a broad band with vertical stripes incised upon it, follows the best Lubaantun tradition.

This mound appears to have been constructed over the ruins of a small house the stone walls of which were stuccoed within and without. The two small chambers A and B were each only 6 feet square and when roofed must have been very dark, as the only light which could enter came through the rooms to the west of them, the sole vestiges of which now remaining are the two angular portions of walls shown in the plan on each side of the dividing wall between A and B. These rooms must also have been very small unless the substructure on which the original building stood was much larger than it is at present.

Mounds covering the remains of stucco-covered stone buildings, beneath which burials have taken place, are found near San Andres in this region. The walls of these are never over 4 feet high, and their summits are rounded and stucco covered. The presumption is that the upper part of the house was constructed of wood and probably thatched with palm leaf, a method of architecture found among the Itzas of Peten, the last independent Maya confederation to hold out against the Spaniards. The procedure in Mound 15 seems to have been as follows:

On the death of the owner an excavation was made in the floor of one of the back chambers of his house, into the substructure, where a small burial cyst was constructed for the reception of the corpse, over the face of which a bowl was placed. This was next filled in, the floor remade, two small caches of his possessions placed upon it, and over it a second floor constructed, in this chamber only. Lastly, the house was partially wrecked and buried beneath the mass of stone and marl which forms the cap of the present mound.

These two mounds, Nos. 14 and 15, appear to be examples of burials of the owners of houses in the substructure upon which their houses stood, followed by the erection of a new mound over the ruins of the house, but whereas in the case of Mound 15 the walls of the house were of stucco-covered stone, in Mound 14 they were probably of wood or adobe brick, all traces of either of which would long since have vanished.

Mound 16

This mound was situated near Buena Vista, about 1½ miles southeast of Nohmul. It was conical in shape, nearly circular, 40 feet in diameter and 10 feet high. It was dug down to the ground level. The cap of the mound was composed of a solidly packed mass of marl dust and rough boulders of limestone. At a depth of 4 feet a cement floor was encountered averaging 6 inches in thickness, beneath which was a thin stratum of black earth in contact with the substructure of the mound which was built up of small stones, evidently collected from the surface of the surrounding land, as most of them showed distinct signs of weathering. Mixed with this rubble were great quantities of potsherds, the majority being of coarse domestic ware, many of which were those of cooking pots, as their outer surfaces had been blackened from contact with the fire. A considerable number of fragments of red polished ware were also present, with a few of polychrome, and black polished ware, one of the latter being decorated with part of a geometrical design incised on its outer surface.

The stucco-topped substructure of this mound had probably once supported a wooden or adobe house, over which a cap 4 feet high had been erected at some subsequent period. It does not appear to have been used for sepulchral purposes, as neither human bones nor grave furniture were found within it, though the whole mound was dug down, and one can only suppose that the flattened summit of the added portion was used for a second dwelling the floor of which was of beaten marl dust, commonly used by the modern Indians for this purpose.

Mound 17

This mound was situated close to Mound 16. It was 15 feet in height, nearly circular, and 45 feet in diameter. On excavating through the marl dust and limestone blocks which composed the flattened cap of the mound, at a depth of 4 feet a cement floor was revealed, 8 inches thick. Immediately beneath this, almost in the center of the mound, a small, very crudely constructed cyst was exposed, measuring 3 feet by 2 feet. It was half filled with marl dust and contained fragments of human bones so badly decayed that it was impossible to tell in what position the corpse had been buried, though owing to the small size of the chamber this could not have been in the usual dorsal fully extended manner. Mingled with the bones was a cylindrical vessel with straight sides and slightly everted rim, measuring 30.5 cm in diameter and 11.4 cm in height. It was colored dark brownish red, and highly polished both within and without. It appeared to have been imperfectly backed, as it was unusually friable. With it were the fragments of another exactly similar bowl. Both these vessels were of a shape very unusual in Maya pottery and are the only examples of their type taken from this district up to the present.

Accompanying these vessels was a small henequen fiber cleaner of very hard limestone, 7.75 cm long by 5 cm broad and 2.5 cm thick. It was roughened by scoring parallel lines on one surface and was convex on the other, while the sides were deeply grooved to hold in place a handle of liana or withy.

The excavation was continued through the marl dust and limestone boulders, of which the substructure of the mound was built, to the ground level, but nothing further was found.

Very few potsherds were unearthed during the excavation of this mound, the reason being probably that the material of which it was constructed had not been taken from the surface but especially quarried to build it.

It was evidently a house burial mound of the usual character, in which the dead man was buried in the substructure beneath his home, over which a second mound was raised later.

MOUND 18

This mound was situated close to Mounds 16 and 17. It was pyramidal in shape, 15 feet high and 46 feet in diameter. Excavation was begun on the summit, which was flattened and of considerable extent. The upper part of the mound was very difficult to excavate, as it was composed of large blocks of limestone the interstices between which were filled with mortar, forming a solid block of masonry. At a depth of 3 feet from the surface a segment of wall was encountered built of well-cut blocks of limestone, 2 feet high and about 6 feet long, broken off short at both ends, and evidently forming at one time part of a building. Beneath the wall was a cement floor 8 inches thick, under which the mound was composed of limestone blocks and marl dust for 18 inches, when a second cement floor 6 inches thick was brought to light. Digging down for a further 3 feet through limestone blocks and marl dust, a third floor, also 6 inches thick, was discovered, beneath which the mound continued to the ground level. Nothing was found in excavating this mound with the exception of a very few potsherds, nearly all of which were of the rough, coarse, undecorated domestic variety.

This would appear to be a house mound which had been added to and enlarged on at least three occasions. The first house was built on a stucco floor covering the top of a low stone substructure; 3 feet of masonry were added to this, on which a second house was constructed on a stucco floor; later still, a second addition was made to the mound, 18 inches in height, covered with a stucco floor, but whereas the first two houses had probably been of adobe or wood, the last house was of stone. Finally this also was wrecked and covered in by a cap of masonry, on the flat summit of which it is probable that a fourth house was built, for, as the mound had not been used for sepulchral purposes it is only reasonable to suppose that there must have been some object in making the last addition to its height.

It is impossible to determine just how long an interval elapsed between each enlargement of this mound. It may have been a few years or it may have been a century or two. The various periods of occupancy represent probably not cultural epochs but stages of local architectural elaboration. The recovery of entire vessels or potsherds at each level might have afforded valuable data for stratigraphic dating. Unfortunately the ceramic content affords no clue of this nature, for not only were the sherds practically all of the domestic variety, but very few were found, and none below the middle floor.

Mound 19

This mound was situated close to Mounds 16, 17, and 18. It was pyramidal in shape, 36 feet in diameter and 5 feet high in the center, and was built throughout of rubble and earth. It was dug down to the ground level. Near the center, at a depth of 2 feet beneath the surface, portions of a human skeleton were found, the bones of which, owing to the material in which they were buried and their nearness to the surface, were in a poor state of preservation, though probably not of any great age. The corpse had been buried in the fully extended dorsal position, and over the face was placed a large shallow dish of reddish yellow ware, polished both within and without. It was 38 cm in diameter, 7.5 cm in depth, and stood on a low annular base. Both this dish and the skull which it covered were badly broken, owing probably to numerous tree roots which surrounded them.

Beneath the southern margin of this mound a circular opening 2 feet in diameter was found, which at first appeared to be the opening of a chultun, or chamber hollowed out in the limestone, many of which are found in the district, but which proved on excavation to be the mouth of a cylindrical hole, probably an old well, 6 feet deep. It was filled with rubble and earth, among which were a few rough potsherds.

MOUND 20

This was one of a group of four small mounds situated about 2 miles southeast of Nohmul, two of which were excavated. It was conical in shape, almost circular, 8 feet in height, 35 feet in diameter, and was constructed throughout of marl dust and rough blocks of limestone. Near the center of the mound, beneath the layer of vegetal mold which covered it, lay a small clay whistle (pl. 3, *2*, *a*). This, which was made of rather coarse red pottery, 9.5 cm in height, represented a human figure standing upright with the arms held straight down by the sides. The face closely resembled that from Mound 15, already described, and the forehead was in both cases covered by a vertically striated band. In this case, however, the upper part of the headdress was present and represented the face and upper jaw of some mythological animal. Small round ear plugs were worn in the ears and a very elaborate necklace of three rows of beads covered the front of the chest, from which depended a curious square ornament which rested on the front of the loin cloth, the free end of which fell almost to the ankles. The front of this figure, which had been turned uppermost, was much weathered, doubtless from exposure to the rain, before the formation of the layer of vegetal mold which later served to protect it. So great was the weathering that it had worn a hole through the wall of the whistle, just behind the left cheek. The back of the whistle was prolonged below into a mouthpiece, while above, two holes pierced the wall, by closing one or both of which three notes could be produced.

Scattered over the surface of this mound immediately beneath the vegetal mold were numerous fragments of arms, legs, and torsos of the figures used to adorn the outer surfaces of large censers of coarse pottery, all of which were much weatherworn.

The mound was dug down to the ground level, but nothing further was found within it.

MOUND 21

This mound was situated close to Mound 20, of which it was almost an exact duplicate in size. On the summit, covered only by the vegetal mold, was found a small vase standing on 3 short legs, 8.5 cm long, in the form of a human face (pl. 6, *2*). The headdress consisted of a band of round flat beads on one of which the fingerprint of the maker had been so clearly left upon the wet clay that, were he still alive, it would be possible to identify him by it. The nose is long and hooked, and over its root a projecting nose ornament is seen. At each angle of the mouth small round labrets are worn, and in the ears large circular ear plugs. The face is modeled with considerable spirit and might well be a portrait, as there is a marked lack of symmetry between its two sides. The outer surface of this vase had been covered by a white slip, over which a coat of blue was painted. Most of both coats had been worn off by long exposure, but can be traced still in protected places. Within the vase were four malacates, three of stone, one of clay, and a very small spheroidal vessel measuring only 3 cm in diameter by 2 cm in depth. This may possibly have been used as a censer, as there are three small holes placed at equal distances from each other around the body of the vessel. One of the malacates is very unusual; made of hard, well-polished limestone, it is in the form of a water jar of composite silhouette outline and high neck with everted rim, while the hole through its center forms the worm of a screw. This is the only instance recorded of a malacate of this type found anywhere in the Maya area, indeed the only instance which would seem to indicate that the principle of the screw was known to the ancient Maya; which suggests that this mound may date from after the conquest. Moreover, the remarkable symmetry of the outline of this little object, especially when compared with that of the other malacates, suggests very strongly that it was turned on a lathe and may have been a trade piece of Spanish origin.

Scattered over the surface of the mound, just under the vegetal mold layer, were numerous fragments of rough, figure-decorated censers, arms, legs, faces, and ornaments. These all showed the same technic as the face vase, and a few of them still retained traces of white and blue slip, in protected parts.

The mound was dug down to the ground level, but with the exception of a few sherds of rough domestic pottery nothing else was found within it.

Mound 22

This mound formed one of a group of three situated about 2½ miles southeast of Nohmul. It proved to be in many ways the most interesting of all the mounds in this district. It was 15 feet in height, and approximately 50 feet in diameter at the base. To the west of it was a long, low, crescentic ridge, from the northern horn of which it was separated by a small mound 12 feet in height by 30 feet in diameter. This last was completely dug down to ground level and was found to be built of marl dust, rubble, and limestone. A few fragments of pottery were found in its structure, including red ware, black ware, and polychrome. Nothing further was found in this mound, which, as its summit was flattened, may have formed the substructure for a small wood or adobe house.

A small exploratory excavation was made in the southern horn of the crescentic mound. Within a foot of the surface, and buried in the marl dust and limestone blocks of which the mound appeared to be built, was a very neatly chipped triangular arrow head of flint, measuring 5.5 cm in length, with narrow indentations on each side half an inch from the base, no doubt to retain in place the cord which bound it to the shaft. This was the only arrow head found in the entire area. The bow and arrow do not appear to have been known to the early Maya, as arrow heads are not found at the oldest sites. In this case the mound may have been erected during the Maya Old Empire Period and used as a burial place during the Reoccupational Period, not an uncommon occurrence. With the arrow head was a roughly chipped triangular spear or javelin head of chert, 9.5 cm in length.

Excavation was begun on the summit of Mound 22 and continued down for 3 feet through a layer of very solid material composed of blocks of stone, many of them squared, bound together by friable mortar. Later, excavation was begun at the western edge where the construction was similar to that on the summit, until at a distance of about 6 feet from the edge of the mound a pocket of soft sandy material appeared, on removing which two vessels were found buried within it. The first of these was a round bowl, or dish, 36.5 cm in diameter by 9 cm deep. It stood on a flat annular base, was of composite silhouette outline, and was colored a deep red throughout, and ornamented over the outer surface of the rim by black geometrical figures. This vessel had been "killed" before burial, by scraping a triangular hole in its bottom, an unusual method, as in most cases the hole is merely punched in the vessel to bring about its ceremonial demise.

The second vessel (pl. 7, *1* and *4*) was cylindrical in form, 22 cm high by 11 cm in diameter. It was made of very hard, thin, fine-grained yellow clay and was covered throughout, both inside and out, with a pale reddish-yellow wash, on which, as a background, were executed various devices in red, brown, purple, and black. Around the outer surface of the rim of the vessel is painted a broad purple band 2.5 cm deep, bordered above and below by thin black lines. Around the outer surface of the base is a decorative band 3.75 cm deep, composed above of two thin black lines and below of triangular spaces enclosed in thick, stepped black lines, each space holding a red oval with a black center. The central zone of the vessel has unfortunately been badly worn, but a seated human figure can clearly be made out holding some unidentified object in his hands. The face, presented in profile, is thoroughly un-Maya in character, as the eyes are oblique and the nose large, turned up, and shapeless. An enormously high and elaborate headdress is worn projecting backward in the form of feather decorations which blend with other feathered plumes and an unknown object to completely cover the entire surface of the zone.

On continuing excavation from the center of the mound through very solid material, at a depth of 5 feet beneath the surface, the tops of several partly broken-down walls which had evidently formed part of a building were exposed. These were 18 inches thick and covered on both sides with yellow stucco. As shown in figure 7, they appear to have enclosed a small building whose opening faced toward the west. The interior of this building had been tightly packed with solid masonry composed of square stones and mortar. Through the north wall of the building an irregularly shaped hole, 2 feet 3 inches by 2 feet, had been made (fig. 7, *B*).

The cement floor of the building rested on a thick layer of black earth. On each side of the opening in the north wall a flat flag was exposed, covering in both cases round openings in the black earth and in the marl which underlay it. Each opening measured 2 feet 2 inches in width and 3 feet 10 inches in depth. Both opened below into a series of five small chambers hewn out in the marl, all of which were partially filled with sandy material, in and on which were found a great variety of objects (figs. 8 and 9).

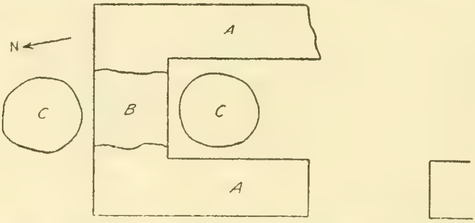

FIGURE 7.—Ground plan of building above subterranean chamber, Mound 22. *a*, Stucco-covered walls 18 inches thick. *b*, Irregularly shaped hole in the wall measuring 2 feet 3 inches by 2 feet. *c*, Circular openings to underground chambers.

Chamber 1.—This chamber was formed by the bottom of the round hole to the north of the north wall of the building. It was circular in shape, 2 feet 2 inches wide, and the concave floor was 6 inches higher than those of chambers 3 and 2. The bottom of the chamber was filled with loose, finely divided material which appeared to be a mixture of sand, marl dust, and humus, and the same material was found in all the other chambers. In it were buried 10 hootie shells, *Ampullaria insularum*, and part of the rim of a large polished red-ware basin with a very everted rim.

Chamber 2.—This chamber measured 6 feet 6 inches in length by 4 feet in breadth and 3 feet 2 inches at the highest point of the roof, which was vaulted. It was connected with chamber 1 by an oval opening just large enough to admit the passage of a man, and was

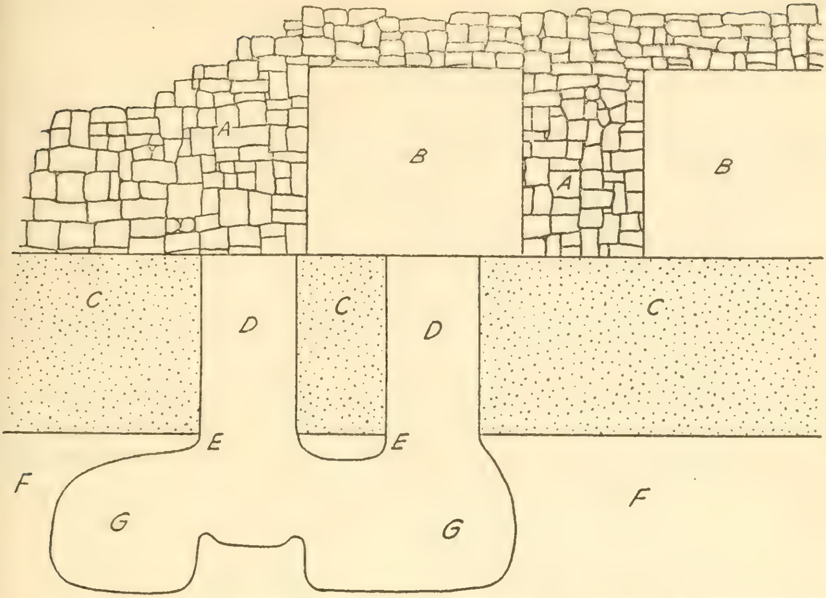

FIGURE 8.—Section through subterranean chamber, Mound 22. *a*, Body of the mound built of blocks of limestone and mortar to a height of 5 feet above the tops of walls *b*. *b*, Stucco-covered walls of building, and opening. *c*, Layer of black earth 3 feet 7 inches thick through which are excavated *d*. *d*, Openings through black earth each 2 feet 2 inches in diameter and 3 feet 10 inches deep. *e*, Parts of shafts traversing the marl. *f*, Marl. *g*, Chambers excavated in the marl.

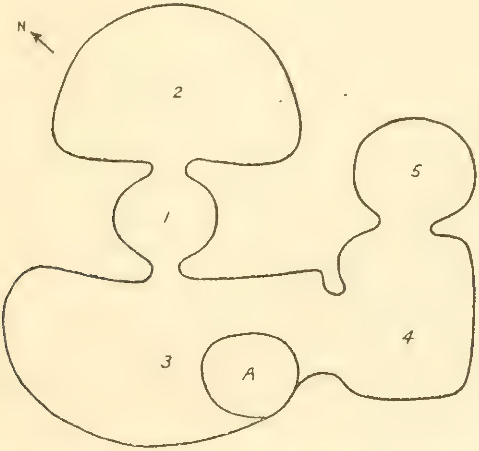

FIGURE 9.—Ground plan of subterranean chamber, Mound 22. Chamber 1 is 2 feet 2 inches wide, the floor 6 inches higher than Chambers 2 and 3. Chamber 2 is 6 feet 6 inches by 4 feet, and 3 feet 2 inches high. Chamber 3 is 8 feet 1 inch by 4 feet 7 inches, and 3 feet 2 inches high. At the point *A* is a circular opening through the roof and immediately beneath this is a circular well-like depression in the floor. Chamber 4 is 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 9 inches in height. Chamber 5 is 3 feet 5 inches in diameter. The opening to Chamber 4 is 2 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches.

filled almost to the roof with soft sandy material, in which were found a number of hootie shells, and a few potsherds of red ware and polychrome pottery, but nothing else.

Chamber 3.—This chamber was evidently the most important of all, as not only was it the largest, but it contained more artifacts than all the others combined. It measured 8 feet 1 inch in length, 4 feet 7 inches in breadth, and 3 feet 2 inches in height at the highest part of its slightly arched roof. It communicated with chambers 1 and 4 by means of narrow oval openings, and with the surface by means of the tubular shaft which opened above within the building. The chamber was filled almost to the roof with sandy material, in which were scattered irregularly at various levels a great variety of objects of pottery, flint, bone, obsidian, and shell. Ten complete or almost complete pottery vessels were found. The first of these was a small nearly cylindrical vessel of polished red ware with an everted rim (pl. 4, *4*). It measured 9 cm across the mouth by 11.5 cm in height. Originally it had stood on three legs, but these had evidently been broken away some considerable time before it was buried, as the marks left on the base by their removal had worn quite smooth. This vessel had probably been used as a censer, as its interior for about 2 inches from the bottom was blackened by the smoke of incense. The second vessel was very similar to the first. It was of polished red ware, 14 cm in diameter by 12 cm high, and had been originally supported on three hollow legs.

The third vessel was cylindrical in shape, 14.5 cm in diameter by 9.5 cm in height (pl. 7, *2* and *3*). It stood on three oval hollow legs originally, the rough surfaces caused by the breaking away of which had been smoothed down from use after the fracture had occurred. A small piece was at some time broken away from the rim of the vessel and the rough surface left by this had been carefully smoothed. The vessel was of thin, hard, well-baked light-red pottery. After it had been baked there was incised in low relief on its outer surface a design consisting of a row of cartouches above, and below a narrow band, unadorned. Between these the surface was divided into 6 panels by vertical lines. On three of them a monkeylike animal is depicted sitting on the ground, its legs drawn up, its long tail curled behind it. Over the tail of one monkey is a vacant space, over that of another, one oval dot, and over that of the third, two oval dots. Alternating with the monkey panels are three which appear to represent the highly conventionalized head of some mythological animal, but so overlaid with detail and ornamental designs used to fill in the background that it is difficult to be sure what the artist means to represent. When the carving on the side was complete a coat of black wash was applied to the vessel, both within and without. This was then polished so that only the raised parts of the carving took the polish, the sunken areas forming the background remaining a dull black, in some places filled in with cross-hatching.

The fourth vessel was a large round polished red-ware bowl 21.5 cm in its greatest diameter, 19.5 cm at its slightly everted rim, and 17.25 cm deep (pl. 8, *1*). On one side is molded a human figure 18 cm high. The head, which is in the round, projects slightly above the rim and is that of an individual with narrow eyes, large roman nose, and a chin so prominent as to suggest a short beard. The flat headdress is formed of some plaited material over the forehead, and in each ear is a large round ear ornament. Around the neck is a twisted band suggesting a rope. The limbs, which are represented in high relief on the side of the vessel, are long and thin, the arms bent at the elbows, the legs at the knees. The fingers are applique, and in the right hand is held a gourd with a long stem, such as was used for a rattle (pl. 8, *2*). On the opposite side of the bowl is an almost exactly similar figure. In this case the flat headdress is ornamented with a row of beads in front of the forehead, the ears are perforated with large holes but hold no ear ornament, around the neck is a string of large beads, the hands hold a small round bowl over the lower abdomen, and the legs are crossed over each other in a most unnatural position (pl. 8, *3*). The interior of this vessel was half filled with sandy material in which the following objects were found buried (pl. 9, *2*). A nine-pointed star of mother-of-pearl, 2.5 cm in diameter (pl. 9, *2*, *g*); the anterior half of a small cowrie (pl. 9, *2*, *f*); parts of four bone gouges or polishers, the cutting edges of two of them 2 cm broad, of one 1 cm, and one terminating in a sharp point (pl. 9, *2*, *h*); one borer, made by filing what appears to be the tooth of a young alligator to a fine point; a thimble-shaped object of bone (pl. 9, *2*, *d*); a section, 11.5 cm long, cut from the hollowed-out long bone, probably of a large feline, nicely polished, possibly used as an ornament (pl. 9, *2*, *a*); a very long canine tooth of some rodent, probably a gibnut (pl. 9, *2*, *b*); two sections, each 2 cm long, cut from the rib of some large animal and hollowed (pl. 9, *2*, *e*); a portion of the leg bone of some large bird from which the articular end has been neatly sliced; a portion of a similar bone evenly cut through below, polished and bored above, with two small holes evidently for suspension (pl. 9, *2*, *c*); a smaller piece of bird's bone 3 cm in length, polished and hollowed out; two crab's claws, pierced for suspension both at the front and the base (pl. 9, *2*, *k*); portions of a small thin bone plaque with geometrical devices engraved upon it in low relief and colored red. Unfortunately only a few pieces of this were recovered as the bone was very badly decayed, but enough remained to indicate that the workmanship was very fine; a flat spindle-shaped piece of shell, 3 cm in length, 1 cm in breadth, nicely polished all over, and possibly used as a borer (pl. 9, *1*, *n*); four small clamshells averaging 4 cm in length, and all perforated near their upper margins by two small holes, evidently for suspension (pl. 9, *2*, *l*); part of the crown of a tooth of some graminivorous animal, possibly a deer.

The fifth vessel removed from chamber 3 was a large, shallow, polished black-ware dish, 38 cm in diameter and 7.5 cm deep. The sixth was a polished red-ware dish, 33 cm in diameter and 6.5 cm deep. It was decorated around the inner surface of the rim by a band of geometrical figures in yellow and red, outlined by thick black lines. The seventh vessel was almost exactly like the sixth, except that it was slightly smaller, measuring only 30.5 cm in diameter. The eighth was a polished red-ware dish measuring 35.5 cm in diameter by 7.5 cm in depth. The outer surface of the rim was decorated by a yellow band 5.5 cm in breadth on which the figures were painted in red and black. The last two vessels consisted of a pair of polished red-ware dishes each 33 cm in diameter by 6 cm deep, upon which no decorations were present.

The last six vessels stood upon low annular bases, and all were of composite silhouette outline.

In addition to the pottery the following objects were found scattered through the sandy filling of the chamber, at irregular intervals and depths:

A large hootie shell perforated with 11 round holes of varying sizes. A perfect obsidian knife, 6.5 cm in length. Part of the leg bone of some large bird (pl. 9, *1*, *o*). A chair-shaped piece of red ocher, 2 cm in length, the surface of which exhibited marks all over of having been scraped (pl. 9, *1*, *k*). A single tubular polished jade bead, 1.5 cm in length (pl. 9, *1*, *r*). A cylinder of baked clay 2.5 cm in length by 1.25 cm in diameter (pl. 9, *1*, *p*). The tarsal bone of a deer (pl. 9, *1*, *h*). A section of bone, 2 cm long, evenly cut at both ends, which may have been taken from a human ulna (pl. 9, *1*, *m*). A cylindrical object with very thin walls, 3.2 cm in length by 2.4 cm in diameter. It is smooth inside, but decorated outside by a number of incised oblique lines. Its present color is a deep black, but this had originally been covered by a white wash, over which was superimposed one of red. It is difficult to determine the material from which this object was made, and its use is unknown, though it may possibly have been a somewhat unusually shaped ear plug. Three round plaques of shell, the largest of which was 4 cm in diameter, and perforated near the margin by two small holes placed close together; the other two were not pierced (pl. 9, *1*, *b*, *d*, *e*). Three plaques of shell in the form of six-rayed stars, the largest 3 cm in diameter, each pierced through the center by a large round hole and ornamented on the upper surface by lines and indentations (pl. 9, *1*, *a*, *c*, *g*). A similar object in the form of an eight-rayed star, perforated but not decorated (pl. 9, *1*, *f*). The apex of a small conch shell which has been ground down, polished, and decorated with sunken lines. Three small triangular spear heads of flint. A flint knife, struck straight from the core, 20 cm long, which shows no indication of having ever been used. Two unfinished ax heads of flint, one 11.5 cm, the other 13 cm in length. An oval object, 7.5 cm in length, of hard limestone, shaped like an ax head with a blunted cutting edge, possibly used as a smoother. Four spindle-shaped objects of flint, varying from 13.5 cm to 10 cm in length and from 3.25 cm to 3 cm in breadth (pl. 1, *3*, *a*). The ends were chisel-shaped, and they may have been used in this way, or hafted as small axes for fine work. These implements, on both back and front, had evidently been subjected to a considerable amount of attrition, as the projecting ridges of the flint were worn down and polished. The same condition is frequently found in flint axes and is probably due to friction against the withy or split-stick haft. A smooth oval flat piece of slate, 6.5 cm in length, possibly used as a polisher.

The second circular shaft opened in the roof of this chamber 9, and immediately below this opening was a well-like hole in the floor, 3 feet deep, filled with the same sandy material as was found in the chamber. In this were buried, at various levels, the following objects. Twenty triangular-bladed spear heads of flint, varying from 13 to 22 cm in length (pl. 1, *2*). These have all been struck from a core, and except for a little finishing necessary in some cases to bring the implements to a fine point, and the formation of the handle by which to haft them, little work was required in order to fit them for use. They may have been employed as spear heads, or as daggers for hand use, for which purpose they were perhaps even better adapted. A single leaf-shaped spear head, 20 cm in length, and a flint knife struck straight from the core and unaltered. measuring 21.5 cm in length. A very large eccentrically shaped object of flint resembling a crescent, from the outer edge of which project three triangular spikes, one above and one on each side, the spaces between them being serrated (pl. 1, *5*). It measures 34.25 cm in length by 35.5 cm in breadth and weighs 6 pounds. This, if not the largest, is probably the heaviest eccentrically shaped flint found in America.

Chamber 4 was 3 feet 8 inches in length by 3 feet 4 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 9 inches in height at the highest point of the roof, which was slightly arched. It opened into chambers 3 and 5 by very narrow orifices, hardly admitting the entry of even a small man. It was filled with similar sandy material to that found in the other chambers, which reached nearly to the roof, and in which no artifacts of any kind were found.

Chamber 5 was cylindrical in shape and 3 feet 5 inches in diameter. It opened into chamber 4 by an oval aperture measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, and was filled with the same sandy material up to the level of that found in chamber 4. In it were buried four triangular flint spear heads or daggers and a single flint knife, all precisely similar to those found in the well-like hole in chamber 3 (pl. 1, *3*, *b*, *c*).

In removing the east side of Mound 22 there were found, scattered through the material of which it was compounded, the following objects. Thirty hootie shells, twelve small hammerstones of flint, varying from 5 to 7.5 cm in length, a triangular-bladed spear head of flint 7.5 cm in length, a section of the slightly curved long bone of some animal neatly cut in two longitudinally, each half well polished within and without. This mound represents certainly two and possibly three periods of construction. The series of underground chambers was first excavated in the marl. Next, the three openings to these were closed, and over them was built a solid substructure, on the truncated summit of which a small stone-walled building was erected, and finally this was partially pulled down and over its ruins was erected a solid cap of masonry.

The mound does not appear to have been used at any period for burial purposes, as no trace of human bones was found within it, and judging by the state of preservation of the bone artifacts discovered, human bones if present should have been at least recognizable as such.

The wide range of the artifacts in the chultunes, both in material and function, seems to preclude the possibility of their having belonged to a single individual, and the probability is that they constituted a ceremonial cache placed beneath a small temple, a practice not infrequent among the Maya. Some of the objects had evidently been in use for a considerable period before they were buried, notably the two tripod vases, the rough surfaces left by the fracture of the legs of which had been smoothed over. Others, and particularly the triangular spear heads and large eccentrically shaped flint, had probably been made especially for the occasion, as they showed no indications of ever having been used.

The final stage of the construction of the mound, the covering over of the original building and its substructure, almost certainly took place in Holmul V period, for the cylindrical polychrome vase found within that part of the mound is typical of this epoch.

Vessels of this type have been found at Holmul and Uaxactun, in Guatemala, at San Antonio, on the Rio Hondo, and at Pusilhà, in the south of British Honduras, with all of which sites Nohmul was not only contemporaneous but also in close trade communication.

Unlike the fragment of a polychrome cylindrical vase found in Mound 1, which almost certainly had been imported, this was probably a local product, as the figures depicted upon it are simpler in design and cruder in execution than those of similar vases from the other sites mentioned, and seem to resemble more closely those of Copan I, where apparently the type originated, than those of the more finished products of Uaxactun, Holmul, and Pusilhà, though it is possible that the crudeness of the Nohmul vase may be ascribed to provincialism rather than to antiquity.

The vessels found in the subterranean chambers belong undoubtedly to Holmul III period. The large bowls, black, polychrome and red, with compound silhouette outline, prominent flange and low annular base, are characteristic of this epoch. The counterpart of the round polished black-ware pot with spout for pouring out the contents (pl. 4, *2*), was found by Merwin in Holmul, and ascribed by Vaillant to Period III. The tripod black-and-red ware cylindrical pots are found at Holmul in the same period.

At Tzimin Kax, in the Western District of British Honduras, Thompson found in Vault III a cylindrical black-ware vase with figures of the spider monkey etched upon its exterior, squatting with tail erect and legs drawn up in a quite typical attitude, which so closely resemble the monkeys etched on the panels of the vase in plate 7, *3*, that they might almost be the work of the same artist. The spider monkey as a decorative motif on pottery is found at Santa Lucia, in Guatemala, Pusilhà, in southern British Honduras, and at Copan.

Large eccentrically shaped objects of flint are of rare occurrence in the Maya area, and the provenance of most of those now in various museums is somewhat doubtful. There is, however, some reason to believe that most if not all of them were manufactured in the neighborhood of Nohmul, though they may later have traveled considerable distances as trade pieces. The discovery of this one in close association with Holmul V pottery is particularly interesting as it seems definitely to fix them in this period.

Of the other objects from this mound, tarsal bones of the deer, shell disks and stars, carved bones, short sections of small long bones, and cowries were found at Holmul, while disks and stars of shell were found in the Cayo District of British Honduras, at San Antonio, San Andres, and many other Maya sites.

On the whole, it seems safe to date the temple and subterranean parts of this mound in Holmul III, corresponding to the Peten Maya Period, which, accepting the Thompson-Teeple correlation between Maya and Christian Chronology, lasted from about 300 A. D. to 700 A. D. Contemporaneous with this period at Holmul, Vaillant gives Copan I, Uaxactun II, Chukumuk II, and in the valley of Mexico, Early Ticoman, Mid and Early Zacatenco, and Gualupita I. The wrecking and covering in of the temple and substructure probably took place at a considerably later period, not less than a century intervening between the two, as is indicated by the cylindrical vase, the only artifact useful for stratigraphic dating found in this part of the mound. This is typical of Holmul V, corresponding to the Maya Great Period, dating approximately from 700 A. D. to 800 A. D. and contemporaneous, as Vaillant believes, with Copan II, Uaxactun III, Chama II, Valloch, Mounds 16 and 17 in British Honduras, Piedras Negras, and in the valley of Mexico with Late Ticoman and Gualupita II.

Mound 23

Near the mouth of the Rio Nuevo is a considerable group of mounds; three of these were excavated, of which Mound 23 was the largest. It occupied the northeast corner of a small, nearly square terrace, 150 feet in diameter, and raised 4 feet above the level of the surrounding ground. The mound was conical in shape, and measured 24 feet in height along the side which abutted on the terrace, but rather more on that facing the ground.

The top of the mound, to a depth of 4 feet, was composed of earth, marl dust, and blocks of limestone. At this level a cement floor 2 feet thick was encountered, immediately beneath which, toward the east side of the mound, was found a small, very crudely constructed cyst, less than 2 feet in diameter by 18 inches high. Within were a few small fragments of human long bones but no other parts of the skeleton. Besides the bones were two vessels, the first of which was a shallow bowl, 34 cm in diameter and 8.5 cm in depth. It was of fine pottery, standing on a low annular base, of compound silhouette outline, and decorated with geometrical devices in red and yellow, outlined in thin black lines. The second vessel resembled very closely the first, except that it was 2.5 cm less in diameter. The first vessel was broken into a number of pieces, evidently before burial; the second had been "killed" by having a hole knocked in its bottom. Close to the vessels was a very fine triangular flint weapon 22.5 cm in length by 8.25 cm in breadth at the widest point. It was chipped with unusual skill and precision, and brought to a needle point, and judging by the length of the handle and the labor expended on its fabrication, was probably a dagger for use in the hand rather than a spear head.

On continuing the excavation through the mound, at a depth of 1 foot below the first chamber, a second was discovered, much more carefully constructed, measuring 5 feet 2 inches in length by 2 feet in breadth. It was filled with marl dust and a little rubble, and lying on the floor were portions of a human skeleton evidently buried in the dorsal extended position, the head toward the north; the bones were in an advanced state of decay. Over the face was placed a polychrome vase measuring 28.5 cm in diameter by 7.5 cm in depth. It was of compound silhouette outline and stood on a low annular base. The rim was decorated both on its outer and inner surface with geometrical devices in red, yellow, and black, on a yellow background. Close beside this plate was a small round bowl 12.5 cm in diameter and 6.5 cm in height. It was of hard, well-made pottery standing on a low annular base, of simple silhouette outline, its interior colored red and polished, its exterior plain.

MOUND 24

This mound stood on the same platform as Mound 23, about 7 yards to the west of the latter. It was conical in shape, 8 feet high, and constructed of earth and rubble. It was dug down to the ground level, and at its base, about the center of the mound, portions of a human skeleton were found, the bones in a very bad state of preservation. Over the skull, which lay with the face looking upward, were the fragments of a small undecorated red-ware bowl, and close to the side of the skeleton a single small flint hammerstone showing numerous percussion abrasions, a large unworked nodule of flint, and a curious implement made of hard limestone, the use of which is not apparent. It is 11.5 cm square and 3.25 cm thick. From each upper angle a quadrangular piece 2.5 cm in length has been removed, leaving what appears to be a short handle in the center, around the base of which a narrow groove has been cut. Close to Mound 24, and on the same platform, was a small mound, 3 feet in height, built of rubble and earth. On digging it down a very much decayed human skeleton was found lying on the ground at its base. This was unaccompanied by grave furniture of any sort.

MOUND 25

Near the mouth of the Rio Nuevo the sea is encroaching slowly on the land, and has in one spot completely demolished a small mound, leaving exposed half covered with sand, upon the shore, some of the rubble and stones of which it was composed, and a few of the artifacts which it contained. Among these was one very singular vessel, complete, and fragments of another almost exactly similar to it. The complete vessel (pl. 4, *8*) was made of pale yellow porous pottery and was colored red and polished externally. It consists of two separate vessels joined together below by a short wide pottery connection. The larger vessel is a wide-bellied pot with a flaring rim, 10.5 cm in diameter, the pot itself being 15 cm in diameter by 14 cm in height. The vessel to which it is connected in nearly cylindrical, but slightly wider below than above; at its center it is 6 cm in diameter. Connected to the upper and outer surfaces of both vessels is a small loop, evidently for suspension. These two vessels are thoroughly un-Mayan, both in shape and texture of pottery. They suggest in some measure the Peruvian whistling vases, but these are unknown in the Maya area. They were evidently made for suspension, and were probably used to contain water, which owing to the porosity of the clay would be kept cool, and which could easily be drunk from the mouth of the smaller vessel by tilting up the larger one, without removing the jar from the cords by which it was suspended. These vessels may be a late development of what is known as the spouted chocolate pot. In the earliest type of this kind of vessel, such as was found in Mound 9, the spout projects above the rim, to which it is attached by a solid bar of pottery. In the second type (pl. 4, *7*) the spout is expanded below and reaches only to the level of the rim, to which it is not attached. From this type to the double vessel here described is but a short developmental step.

Beside these two vessels, evidently also forming part of the contents of the mound, were a small pottery malacate, and a fiber cleaner of hard limestone, 7.5 cm in length, one surface of which was roughened and three of the edges grooved for hafting.

Close to the site of Mound 25 an Indian in clearing bush to make his milpa came across a small elevation on which lay a number of pieces of the clay figures which had been attached to large censers. They were partially buried in vegetal mold and with them was a single almost perfect bowl (pl. 3, *4*). This was made of such hard, resistant pottery that its long exposure to the elements, before it had been covered with a protecting layer of mold, had damaged it but little. It measured 15 cm in height by 2.75 cm in diameter, and was nearly cylindrical in contour. It had evidently been used as a censer, as the interior was still black from the smoke of pom. Its outer surface was once covered with a white wash over which a coat of blue had been applied, but both these had almost entirely weathered off, except in very protected crevices. It was originally supplied with two loops for suspension, but that on the right side had been broken off at some remote period, as the rough surface left by its fracture had worn quite smooth. On the front of the vessel was represented, in applique, a face so characteristically archaic in character that one would not have been surprised to learn that it had come from the archaic horizon in the valley of Mexico. The eyes are of the split almond type, the nose a mere triangular dab of clay, the mouth a horizontal line through a thin oval of clay, while the arms are represented by narrow curved projections on each side of the censer, and the fingers by parallel incised lines along expansions at the end of each arm.

This so-called archaic type is probably very late indeed in this region, as censers adorned with similar heads are found in considerable numbers among the ruins in the neighborhood of Tzibanchè, on the north side of the Rio Hondo, where they were left by Maya Indians of the Reoccupational Period, who came to worship in the ruined temples of their ancestors, leaving their crude censers behind. The Laconton Indians still use similar censers when they go to worship the old gods among the ruined temples of Piedras Negras.

MOUNDS 26, 27, AND 28

To the east of Nohmul, and nearer the mouths of the Rio Hondo and Rio Nuevo, three large flat mounds were excavated, all of which proved to be multiple burial places. Each was roughly circular, 40 to 50 feet in diameter and 6 feet high. The mounds were built of rubble, fragments of marl, and a good deal of soil from the surrounding land. This material is easily washed down the sides of the mounds by heavy rains, consequently the exact lines of demarcation of their bases were not easy to ascertain. Burials in all these mounds were very irregularly distributed, at all levels from 2 feet below the surface of the ground level. With each interment some grave furniture was found, consisting of pottery, beads of shell, clay, and stone, ear ornaments of shell and clay, ax heads of flint and diorite, spear heads of flint, hammerstones in great abundance, borers, scrapers, and smoothing stones, henequen cleaners, knives and cores of obsidian, corn rubbing stones and rubbers, of Esquipulas stone, hard limestone, and flint, and stone mortars and pestles. The pottery vessels were for the most part of the undecorated rough domestic ware; many, however, were of polished red ware, and one was a rather handsome polychrome dish.

On reaching the ground level in these mounds it was found that a number of trenches had been dug beneath them through the underlying black earth and marl, which averaged 2 feet in depth and 2 feet in breadth, and branching off from the trenches were square offshoots, each about 2 feet in diameter. Both trenches and offshoots were filled to the brim with rubble mixed with quantities of potsherds, evidently picked up on the surrounding land, as they showed signs of weathering. In each of the offshoots and at intervals along the trenches interments were found, each containing grave furniture, including at least one pottery vessel. The bones found in the trenches and offshoots were less disintegrated than is usual among burials in this region and indicated that the corpses had been buried in a squatting position with the accompanying grave furniture deposited around them. Two of the skulls which were recovered in a moderately good state of preservation, though in transit the facial bones suffered considerably, were submitted for examination to the Royal College of Surgeons, whose report on them is appended.

These skulls both show artificial deformation, but the method employed was not the usual one, direct flattening of the frontal or occipital region, or of both, by means of boards or stones, as in this case some heavy object was applied at the obelion region, and tight bandages have left their mark on the sides of the vault, about the line of the coronal suture.

Fifteen of the pottery vessels from these mounds are figured.

Plate 4, *7*.—A round, spouted vessel of the chocolate-pot type, of coarse red painted pottery decorated on the outside by depressions around the rim, with incised lines running from them down the body of the vase. It is 15 cm in diameter by 12 in depth.

Plate 10, *1*.—A very remarkable vessel, its shape probably unique in Maya ceramic ware. It is of well-made yellow pottery, colored red and polished. Its diameter both at the rim and at the basal bulge is 18 cm, its total height 21 cm. It is incapable of standing upright on its convex base, but this has been roughened by a series of incised curved lines, evidently to afford a firm hold for the chuyub, or stand, which must have been used with it. The bowl shown beneath it in the figure was found close beside it and may have been employed for this purpose.

Plate 10, *2*.—A nearly spherical vessel 13 cm wide by 10.5 cm deep, of polished red ware. Its base also is convex and the small round saucer found with it, and shown beneath it, may have served as a chuyub.

Plate 10, *3*.—A polished red-ware vase, 12.5 cm in diameter at the rim by 11.5 cm high, and a very similar vase, but slightly larger.

Plate 10, *4*.—A polished red-ware bowl, 13 inches in diameter, standing on four cusped cascabel feet. These tetrapod vessels on cusped cascabel feet are common among Holmul I pottery. The type must, however, have persisted long after this period, as the pottery recovered from these three mounds is probably late, some of it certainly belonging to the Maya Reoccupational Period.

Plate 10, *b*.—An exceptionally large bowl of polished red ware standing on a low annular base. It is 24 cm in its greatest diameter by 16 cm deep.

Figure 10, *a*.—A round bowl, 19 cm in diameter by 9 cm in depth. It is covered externally by a pale yellow slip and the interior is red. Around the rim is incised in low relief an ornamental band of geometrical design.

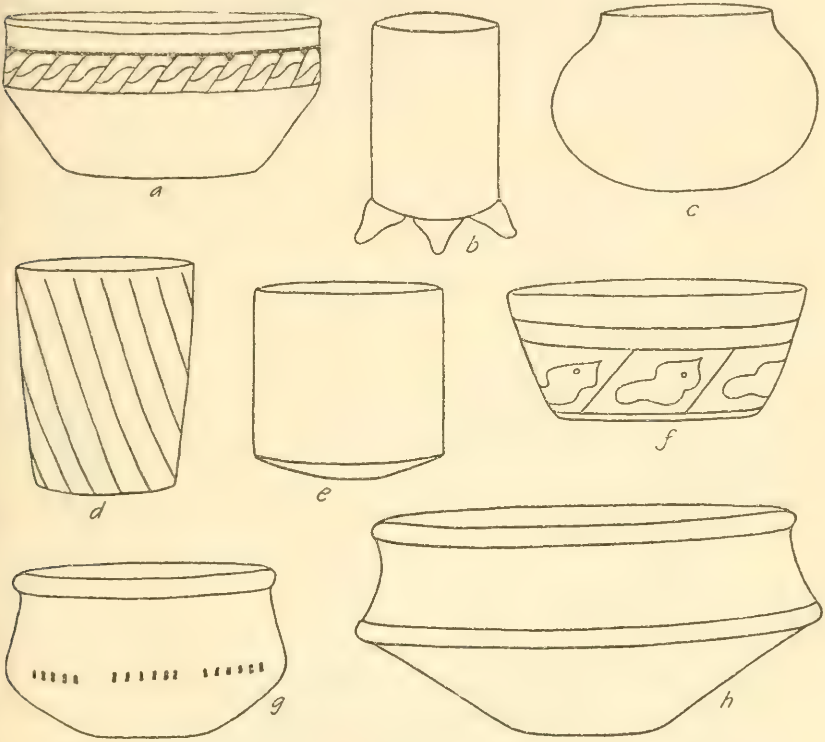

FIGURE 10.—Various types of vessels from Mounds 26, 27, and 28.

Figure 10, *b*.—A small cylindrical vessel with a convex base standing on three short legs. It measures 6 cm in height by 3.5 cm in width, and is made of coarse, unpainted pottery; this type commonly is found in the graves of the poor, often containing beads of shell, stone, or clay.

Figure 10, *c*.—A spheroidal vase standing on a low annular base. It measures 11 cm in height and 16 cm in breadth. It is covered with a black wash on a yellowish red background.

Figure 10, *d*.—A cylindrical vessel, 12 cm high by 10.5 cm in breadth at the mouth. It is painted black within and without, and is decorated on its outer surface by oblique concave bands running from the orifice to the base.

Figure 10, *e*.—A cylindrical bowl, with wide opening and flat base, 9 cm deep, of pale yellow polished ware.

Figure 10, *f*.—A round, flat-bottomed bowl, 17.5 cm in diameter by 7.5 cm deep. The interior is colored black throughout. A band of this color surrounds the outside of the rim, below which the vase is colored yellow and divided by thin black lines into a series of lozenges in each of which is depicted in red a snail-like figure.

Figure 10, *g*.—A bowl of coarse thick pottery painted a pale yellow and polished. It measures 14.5 cm in diameter at the opening and 9 cm in depth. The center of the body, the most prominent part of the vase, is decorated with a series of small vertical lines incised in the clay.

Figure 10, *h*.—A round bowl of coarse pottery, painted red and polished within and without. It is 21 cm in its greatest diameter and 12 cm in depth. Prominent ridges surround the outer surfaces of the rim and of the center of the body.

Figure 11.—Polychrome bowl, 32 cm in diameter.

Several objects of considerable interest were found in the Nohmul district, usually by Indians cultivating the land or digging post holes for huts. The most interesting of these was a fine specimen, 14 cm long, of the shell *Spondylus americanus* (pl. 6, *1*), which was exposed beneath the roots of a large breadnut tree which had been uprooted in a storm. It did not appear to have accompanied a burial, as no other artifacts and no bones were found near it. A portion of the lower shell had been removed at the back to admit of the two halves being partly opened on the natural hinge of the shell. They could not, however, be completely separated, and so formed a very effective box, protected by the long sharp spines covering the outer surface of both shells. Within the cavity was a rectangular plaque of jade, 5.5 cm in length, on which was engraved, in low relief, a human face with elaborate feather-decorated headdress and square ear plugs.

The second object was found buried superficially in the soil, close to the point on the Rio Nuevo nearest to Nohmul. It was a disk of shell, 3 cm in diameter, upon which was engraved a human head in profile (pl. 3, *3*). The face, which is executed with meticulous care, is not the ordinary conventional Maya face, but might almost be a portrait from life. The headdress is a tight-fitting cap, decorated over the forehead by a double row of beads and surrounded by an elaborate design the details of which are difficult to recognize. Two long oval ornaments are attached to the nose, and behind the eye and angle of the mouth crescents are engraved which may represent ornaments, tattoo marks, or merely paint. A long-necked, large-billed bird with broad feet is depicted with its neck passed through a hole in the center of the round ear ornament. The disk is perforated near the margin by a small hole, evidently for suspension.

The third object was found close to Nohmul. It is a small ovate vase of rough unpainted pottery, 10 cm high by 7.5 cm in its greatest diameter. Its narrow round opening is covered by a flat stopper with a peculiar long handle ending in three branches. Within it was a small human head in jade, 2 cm in length, perforated for suspension.

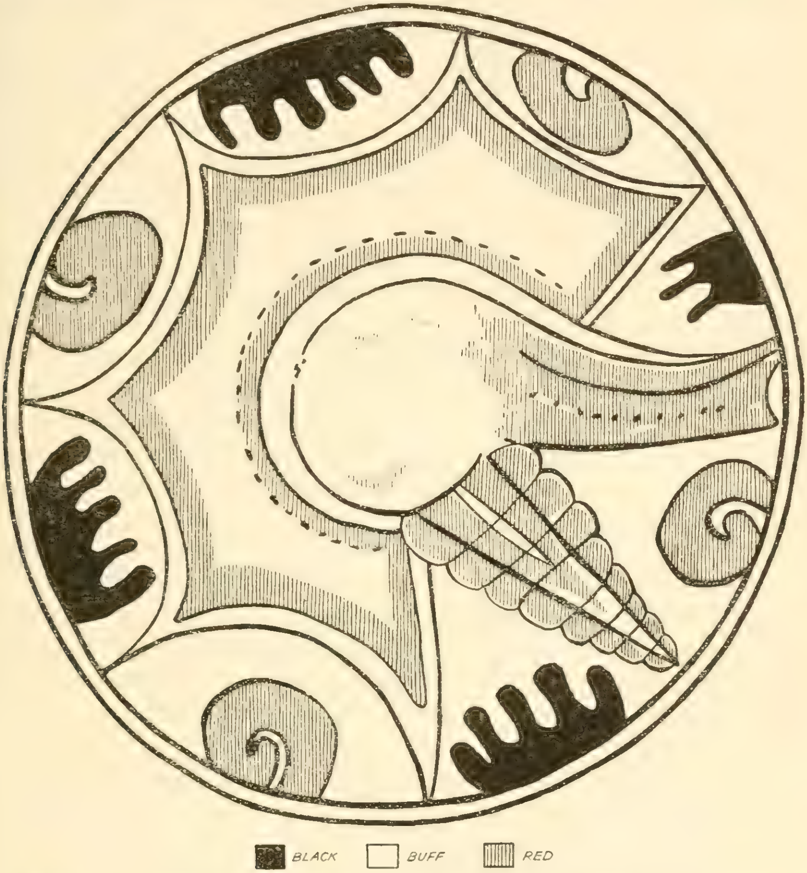

FIGURE 11.—Polychrome bowl 32 cm in diameter. Device painted on the interior.

The mounds excavated at and in the neighborhood of Holmul may be classified as follows:

1. Sepulchral mounds unassociated with either burial cysts or stucco floors. These, numbering 10, constitute nearly one-third of the total number examined, and were probably the graves of poor persons, as the grave furniture in them was invariably scanty and of poor quality. Great numbers of mounds of this type are scattered over the whole area.

2. Sepulchral mounds in which the corpse was buried either above or beneath the former floor of a house. These number four, and con-

tain grave furniture of a better quality than that found in class 1. They were probably the burial places of householders of sufficient importance in the community to have their homes wrecked and converted into burial mounds after their deaths.

3. Sepulchral mounds containing specially constructed burial cysts. These, including the great mound at Holmul itself, are eight in number. They vary in height from 9 to 95 feet, and contain all the finest artifacts of stone, shell, and pottery, etc., found during the excavations. Though they comprise approximately one-third of the burial mounds excavated, their actual proportion to the total number of mounds of this type in the area is probably not 1 in 20, the relatively high proportion being due to the fact that many small mounds were not examined, whereas the larger mounds containing cysts were never left unexplored.

It will be noted that in some cases the cysts were constructed beneath the floors of houses, while in others the mounds were specially constructed to cover them; also that each cyst usually contained a single skeleton, though in some the burials were multiple.

4. Mounds constructed over the ruins of stone buildings and not used for sepulchral purposes. These, including the two long mounds or banks examined in the Holmul acropolis, were five in number. The mounds erected over the partially ruined stone buildings were in all cases flat topped and built of very solid masonry. In Mound 9 a second stone building had been erected on the truncated summit of the first enlargement, and two further additions were made subsequently on which buildings of some perishable material had stood. Considering their solid construction and usually truncated summits, it is reasonable to suppose that these mounds were all enlarged for the reception of new buildings.

5. Mounds built over the former floors of wood or adobe houses, not containing burials. There were two of these mounds, both of which appear to have been low stucco-covered substructures on which were erected houses of some perishable material. In one case the substructure had been enlarged once, and in the other no less than three times, in each case no doubt to increase its height and the area of the summit, for the support of a larger and more pretentious house.

6. Mounds containing only fragments of crude clay censers and the images which adorned their exteriors. Two of these were examined, both evidently sacred spots at which incense had been burned and prayers said to the gods, after which the censers were broken and the fragments left on the ground. Exactly this procedure may still be seen among some of the Indian tribes of the Guatemala Highlands.

7. The function of Mound 25 is doubtful, as it had been almost completely washed away by the encroaching sea.

There are several Maya sites, extending from southern Mexico to Spanish Honduras, with which Nohmul appears to have been in more or less direct contact over a long period, reaching probably from the Peten Maya to the Maya Reoccupational Epoch. In some cases artifacts in the form of ornaments and pottery vessels were brought in from outside as trade pieces to Nohmul; in others a new fashion in the fabrication and ornamentation of pottery vessels was introduced and generally adopted.

The closest contact appears to have been between Nohmul and Holmul, in Guatemala, nor is this surprising when it is remembered that the two are separated by less than 100 miles in a direct line, or about three days journey, and that Holmul is only about 30 miles from the nearest point on the Rio Bravo to which dugouts could find their way up the Noh Ukum River from Nohmul.

The engraved shell disk (pl. 3, *3*) almost certainly came from Holmul, as the head engraved upon it is nearly an exact duplicate of a similar one found there by Merwin; indeed, so closely do they resemble each other that they appear to be the work of the same artist. The diameter of the Holmul specimen is one-fifth cm less than that from Nohmul. The nose and chin, in profile, are almost exactly alike, dependent nose ornaments and large round ear plugs are worn by both, as is the tight beaded cap with an octopus-like object above it, and the same crescentic object is seen behind the angle of the mouth in both.

The fragment of a polychrome cylindrical vase from Mound 1 and the three-legged vase of black incised ware from the chamber beneath Mound 22 not improbably came from Holmul as trade pieces, as both types are found in considerable numbers there, but do not appear to have been manufactured at Nohmul, where they were evidently more highly valued than a mere home product which could be easily duplicated, as a fragment of one was considered valuable enough for a burial cache, while the other, though badly broken, was sufficiently precious to include in a cache beneath a temple.

Black ware spouted vessels, polychrome compound silhouette bowls, and three and four footed vases are found at both sites, while small red shell beads, carved bone, small sections of long bone, and deer's tarsal bones are common to the two.

From Copan in Honduras it is not improbable that the jade model of a stela and very large spherical jade beads were imported direct, as both resemble very closely similar objects found in a cache beneath a stela in Old Copan. In both cases the jade figure is in the round, the hands are in the same position, the headdress, a serpent's head and upper jaw, is the same, the ear plugs of both are double and connected below by a string of beads passing over the chest, the belts are very similar, and beneath each is the same tripartite ornament. In the same substelar cache at Copan was a *Spondylus americanus* shell containing, like that at Nohmul, a jade carving. Polychrome cylindrical vases, vessels on three feet, and pottery decorated with the spider monkey are common to both sites.

At Pusilhà and Lubaantun in the southwest of British Honduras, about 130 miles south of Nohmul, we find polychrome cylindrical vases, molded figurines, and the spider monkey design, also an *Ampullaria insularum* shell in which round holes have been drilled, and a cache containing a spondylus shell holding jade ornaments.

At Tzimin Kax, in the Western District of British Honduras, vases on four swollen feet and on three hollow pyramidal feet are found; also the spider monkey design incised on black ware. Superimposed stucco house floors are also present. At Yalloch, near the frontier between the Peten District of Guatemala and British Honduras, are found four-footed polychrome vessels and cylindrical vases with human figures painted on their exteriors. From a grave at Santa Cruz, Quiche, Guatemala, come two three-footed cylindrical vessels, one of red ware, the other of black, both decorated with incised designs very similar to the two vessels of this type found in the subterranean chamber beneath Mound 22.

At San Antonio, near the mouth of the Rio Hondo, the nearest site to Nohmul, from which it is distant by river about 20 miles, are found three-footed cylindrical vases in red ware and incised black-ware pottery. The nearest approach to the fine red-ware bowl the outside of which is ornamented with two human figures, from the subterranean chamber beneath Mound 22, comes from Quirigua in Guatemala, where two large censers were found each decorated with a human figure, the bodies and limbs in applique, the heads in the round.

With Tzibanche, to the west of the Baccaler Lagoon, and with Ichpatun on the Chatumal Bay, Nohmul was, at least in the Maya Reoccupational Period, in communication, as the figure-decorated censers found at all three places are almost identical. There must have been close contact with the seacoast and particularly the cays and the reef from whence were derived the conch, oliva, spondylus, and *Nephronais goascorenensis* shells, all of which were encountered in the mounds.

Nohmul was probably occupied from the Peten Maya Period up to the close of the Maya Reoccupational Period; indeed it was in all probability inhabited before the one and long after the other, even up to the present day.

The site presents everything that the Maya Indian could desire. The land is ideal for the cultivation of maize, there is an ample supply of good drinking water in the lagoons, and it is within reasonable distance of two rivers, in both of which fish abound. It seems probable, therefore, that it was inhabited without intermission from the earliest time to the present day, as numerous Maya villages are scattered in the forest over a great part of this area.

Characteristic pottery of the Holmul I Period is found, including spouted vessels, bowls on four cascabel feet, and pots with a wide annular base. These should belong to the pre-Maya period, and conform to the pottery of Lothrop's Q Complex, which is very early. As a matter of fact the specimens of all these types found at Nohmul are unquestionably late, sometimes indeed as late as the Maya Reoccupational Period, an apparent anachronism, due probably to the fact that all three types persisted long after the period in which they originated, possibly on account of some ceremonial significance attached to them.

Holmul III Period is represented at Nohmul by polychrome, composite silhouette bowls with an outside bevel; black lacquer incised ware; bowls with spouts for pouring out the contents; a scutate pot lid with parrot-head handle, and effigy bowls. This fits in approximately with the Peten Maya Period, which, accepting the Thompson and Teeple correlation, lasted from about 300 to 700 A. D. The Holmul V period is represented at Nohmul by two varieties of the polychrome cylindrical vase depicting human figures, one resembling the Copan type and some examples of these vases from Pusilhà, the other approximating more closely to the Yalloch vases, and the more carefully executed specimens from Pusilhà.

Holmul V corresponds approximately to the Great Period of the Maya Old Empire, which lasted from about the end of the eighth to the end of the ninth century A. D.

The Maya Reoccupational Period covered many centuries at Nohmul; indeed the region has probably never been without inhabitants from the close of the so-called "Old Empire" to the present day. This region was certainly inhabited by Maya Indians during the sixteenth century, and there is some reason to believe that they still erected stelae covered with plaster, on which figures and hieroglyphs were painted, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, for one of these, now in the Museum of the American Indian, New York, was found at Indian Church on the Rio Nuevo. The stucco had been applied to an ancient stela in the form of an alligator's head, and upon it painted various devices, which at the time of its removal had all been obliterated by weathering except at the base of the stela, where the accumulated vegetal humus protected it. Seventy years ago, or about the middle of the nineteenth century, this stela was said to have been in such a good state of preservation that it was generally referred to by the natives as the "painted tombstone."

REPORT ON TWO SKULLS FROM BRITISH HONDURAS

By A. J. E. Cave

Specimen No. 1.—A mutilated brachycephalic cranium, lacking almost the entire facial skeleton, and artificially deformed. Measurements:

Auricular height, 111 mm.
Maximum length (Glabella-inion), 150 mm.
Maximum breadth (biparietal), 165 mm.
Minimum frontal breadth, 92 mm.
Nasal bone height, 22 mm.
Width nasal bridge, 10 mm.
Cephalic index, 110.

The cranium is that of an elderly subject (probably, but not certainly, female) in whom the coronal, sagittal, and pterionic sutures are long-closed and mainly obliterated. The basis cranii presents no remarkable feature other than its exaggerated breadth due to the artificial deformation. The very small occipital condyles and equally small mastoid processes, together with the absence of muscular markings in the temporal and occipital regions, strongly suggest the female. The glabella is flat and smooth, and flanked by very feeble supraorbital ridges. The orbits have been ovoid, and possibly of greater height than width. The strongly projectile bony nose was of narrow, delicate build: the single (right) zygomatic arch is of slender proportions. The whole calvaria is fairly symmetrical. It is curiously and quite artificially deformed, as follows: Mechanical flattening of the supra-inial occiput has produced an enormous lateral outthrust of the cranium in the mid-parietal transverse axis; the frontal region has not been directly compressed and merely shares in the general lateral bulging of the whole skull. (Indeed, a faint median heel may be detected on the frontal, evidence of the absence of any direct compression in that region.) At the obelion there is a distinct broad shallow depression on the vault, extending backward over the lambda. In each temporal fossa, an obvious and artificial groove ascends over the alisphenoid and anterior portion of the parietal to be lost above the superior temporal crest: these grooves must be the product of tightly applied bandages of some kind. In norma verticalis, the cranium suggests an abortive "bilobed" appearance. There has been no fronto-occipital compression, but an obtrusive and distinctive flattening and downthrust of the obelio-inial area, with a consequent outsplaying of the immediately anterior parietal regions, so that the cranium is actually of greater breadth than length.

Specimen No. 2.—The artificially deformed calvaria of an adult middle-aged subject, presumably a male. Of the skull base, only the left petrous temporal remains; the entire facial skeleton is wanting, and the left moiety of the cranial vault has been restored from a handful of fragments. Despite its deformation the skull is brachycephalic and of corresponding type to specimen No. 1.

Its measurements are:

Auricular height, about 100 mm.
Glabella-inion length, 154 mm.
Maximum (biparietal) breadth, 171 mm.
Minimum frontal breadth, 101 mm.
Cephalic index, 111.

Anatomically, the glabella is smoothly flat and the supraorbital ridges very feebly pronounced: the supraorbital nerves groove the frontal bone. The characters of the single (left) glenoid and mastoid region suggest a male individual. The occipital superior curved line is moderately developed, and the narrow strip of nuchal portion remaining below this exhibits no very vigorous muscular markings. The main vault sutures are closed and in process of obliteration. Frontal air sinuses moderately extensive. The (left) mastoid process is of the highly pneumatic type.

Artificial deformity has been produced by the pressure applied directly to the supra-inial portion of the occipital and to the immediately adjacent hinder portions of both parietals. In consequence the whole vault is squashed forward, resulting in the enormous exaggeration of the biparietal diameter, which exceeds the maximum length of the skull. The frontal region has not suffered directly applied pressure. It is full and vertical, the frontal bone sharing, however, in the general lateral outsplaying of the whole vault. Ascending bilaterally from the temporal fossa, immediately behind the obliterated coronal suture, is a well-defined artificial groove, which is lost after it crosses the temporal line. These two grooves obviously result from the firm and continuous application of bandages, part of the mechanism whereby the cranial deformation has been produced. Like No. 1, this skull shows, in normal verticalis, a tendency toward the "bilobed" condition.

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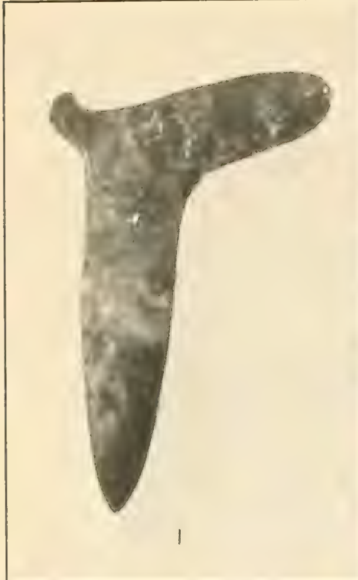

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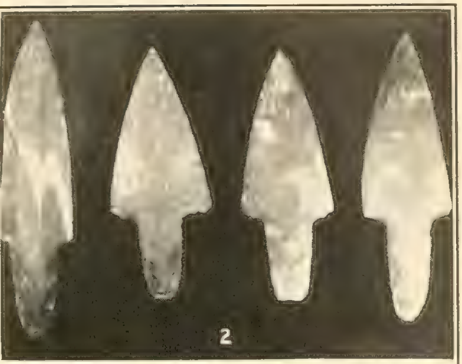

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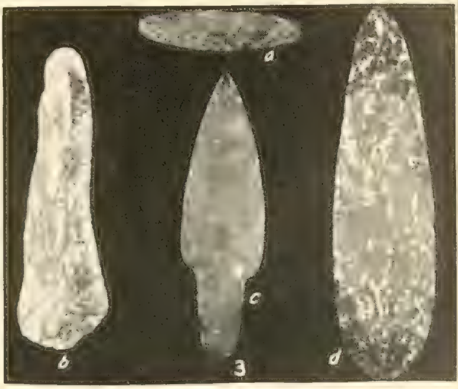

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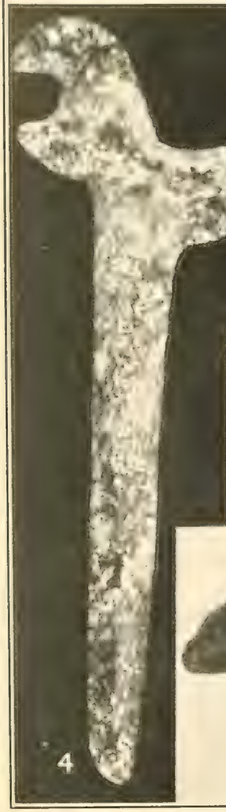

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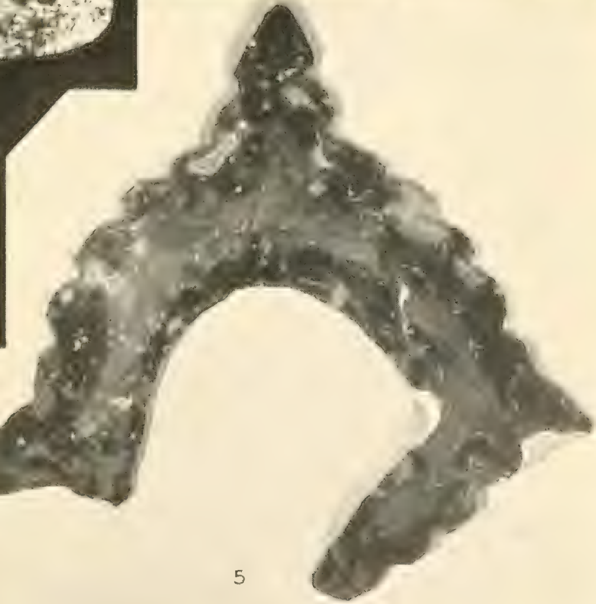

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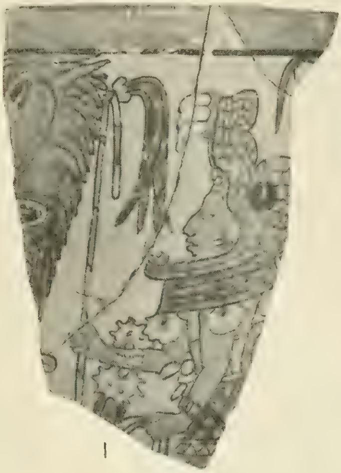

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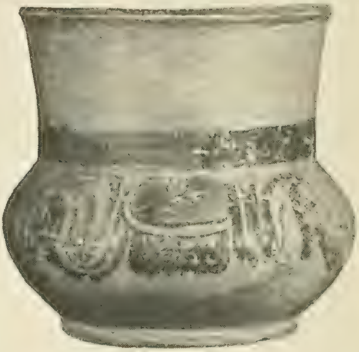

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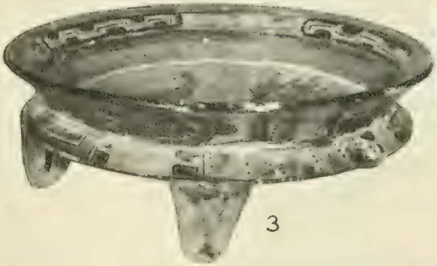

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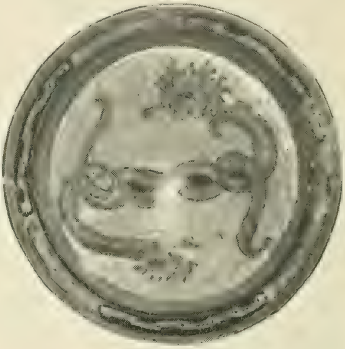

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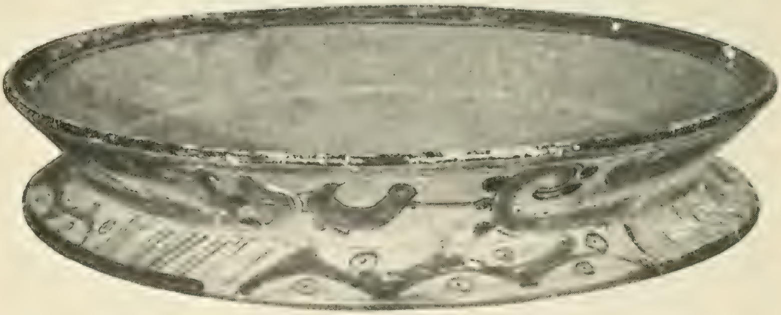

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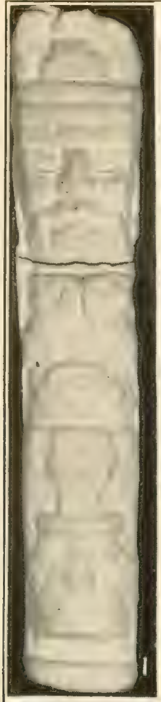
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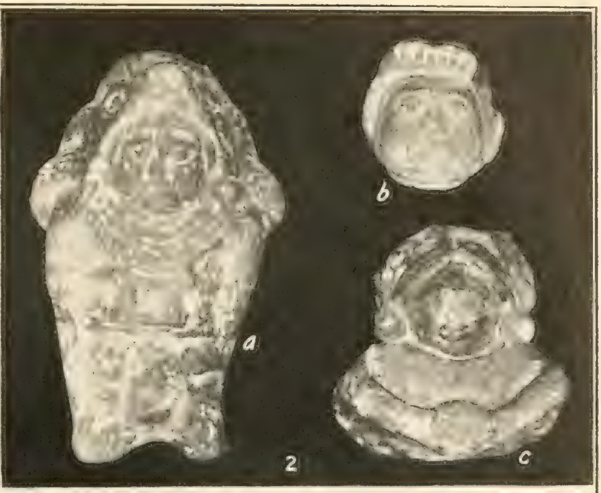

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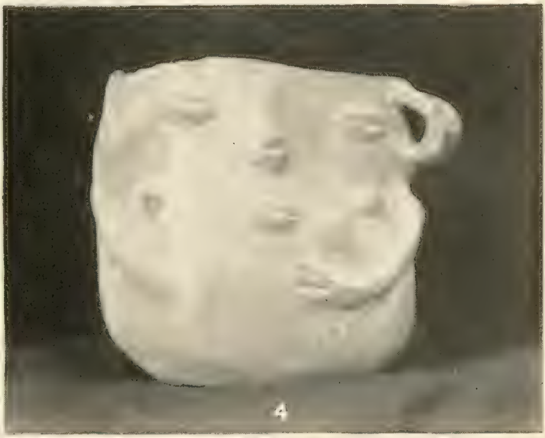
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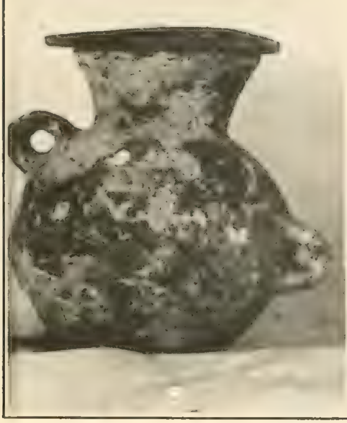

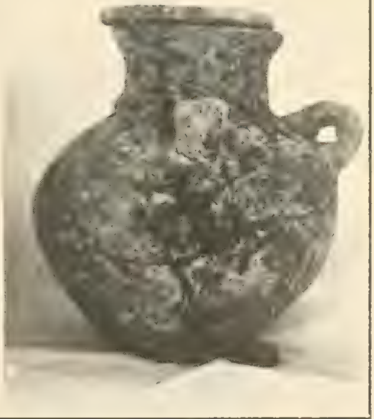

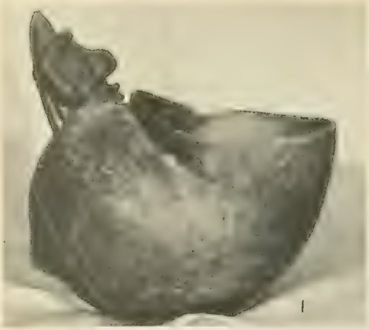
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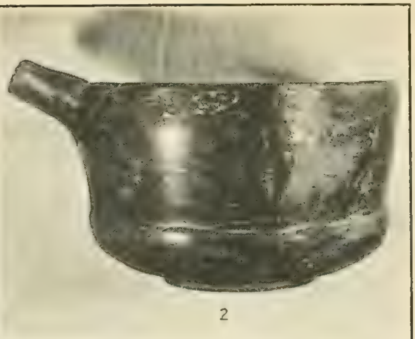
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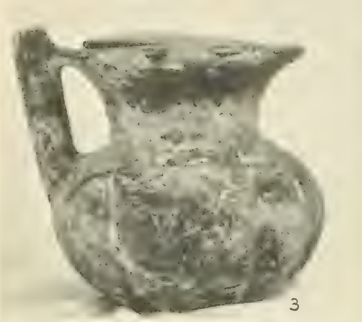
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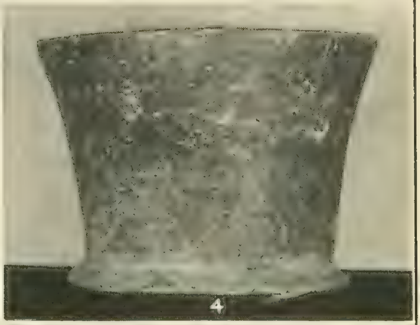
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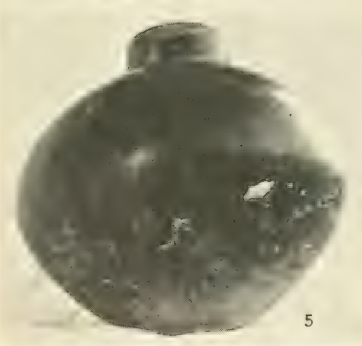
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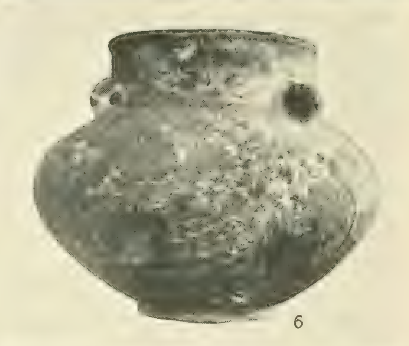
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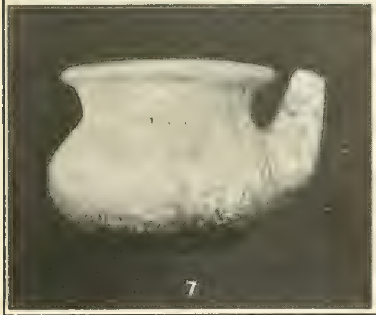
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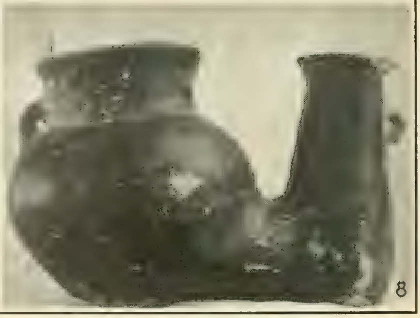
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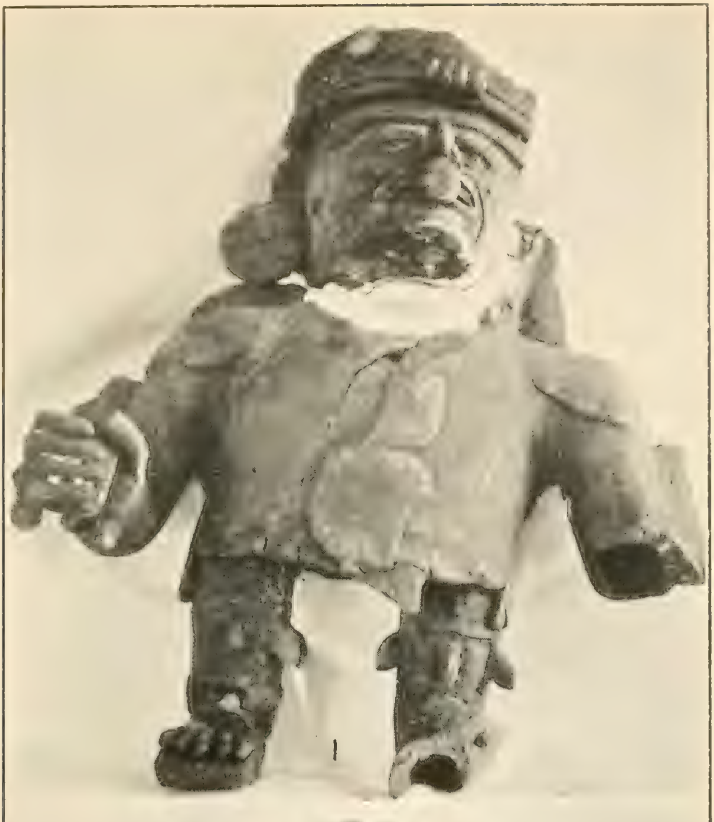

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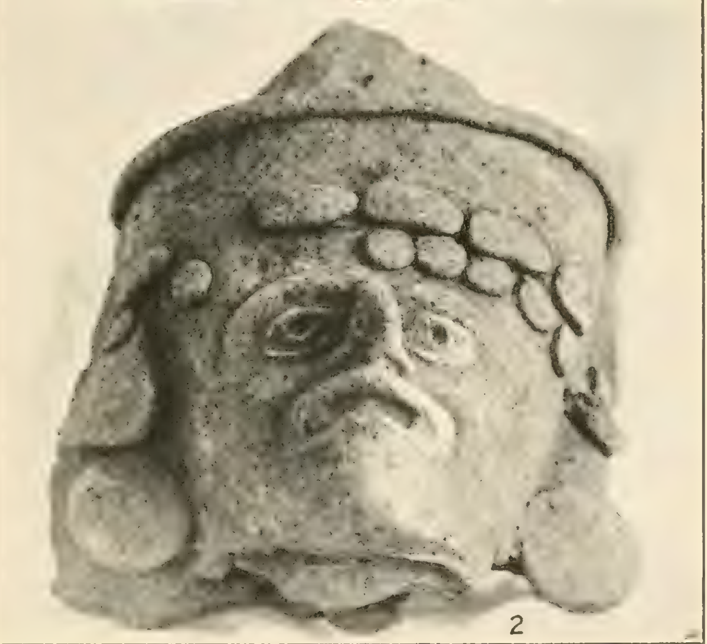

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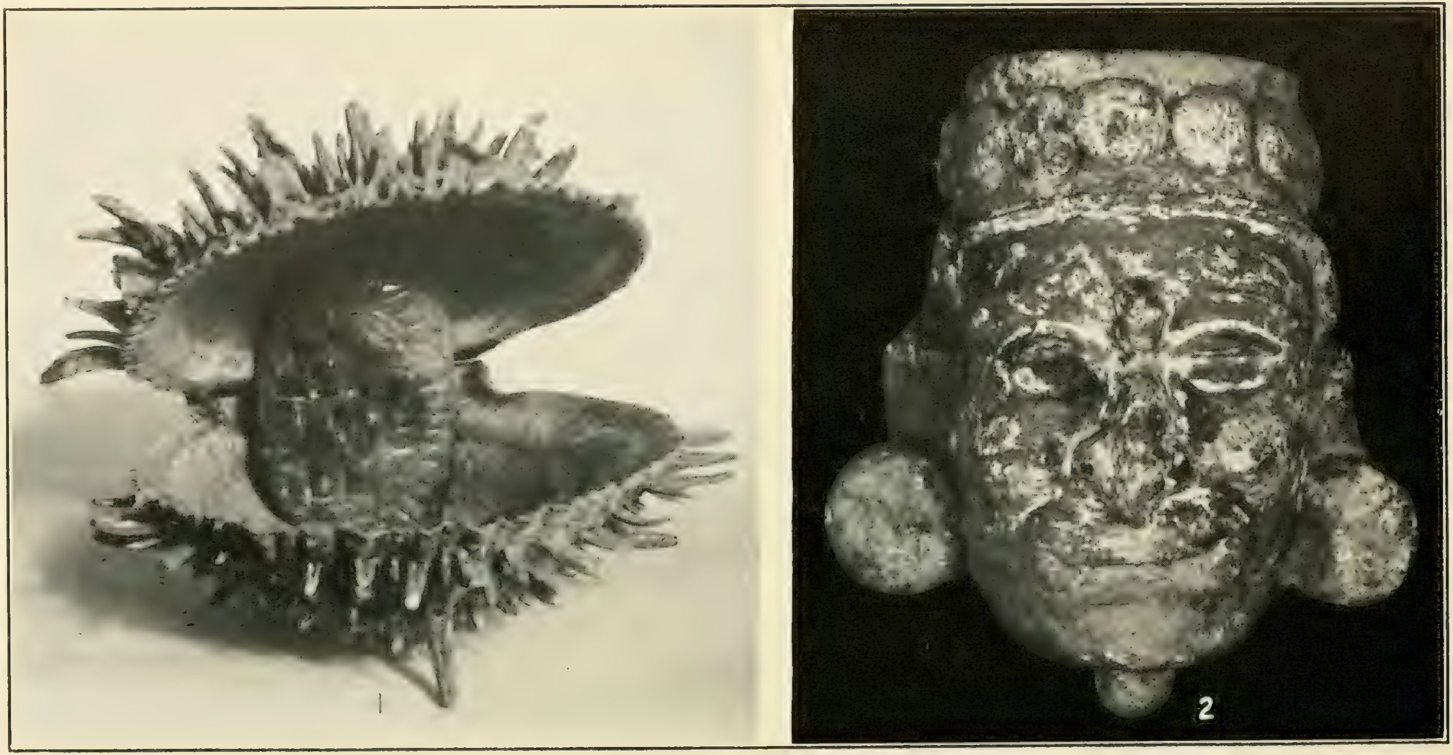
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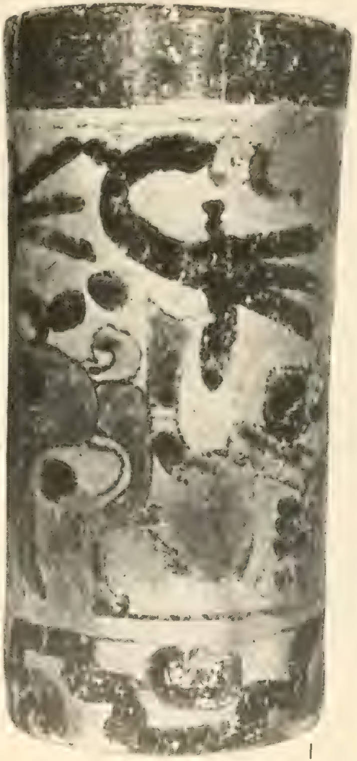

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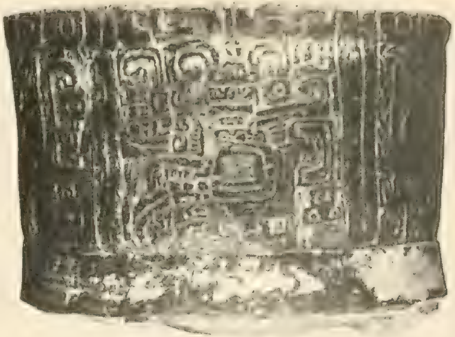

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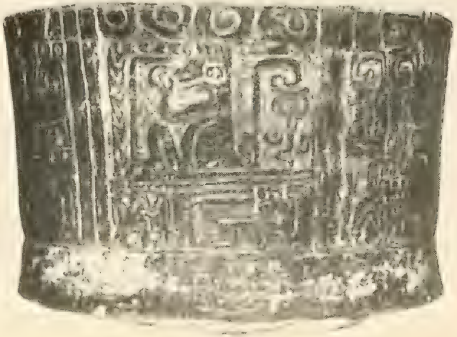

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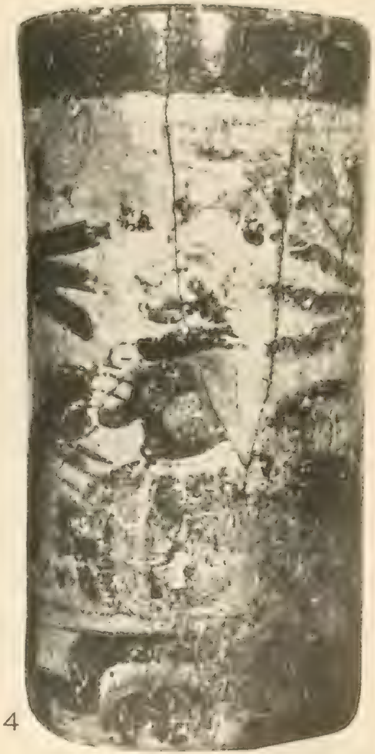

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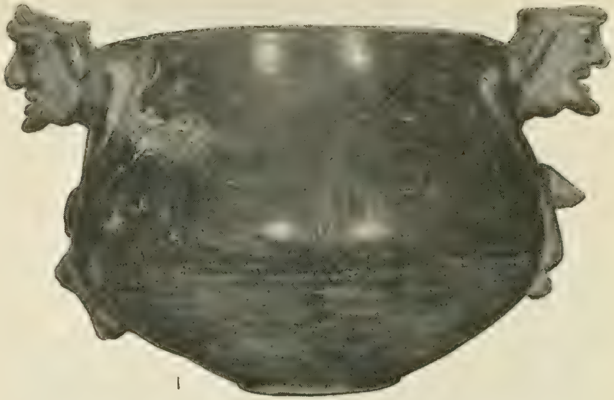

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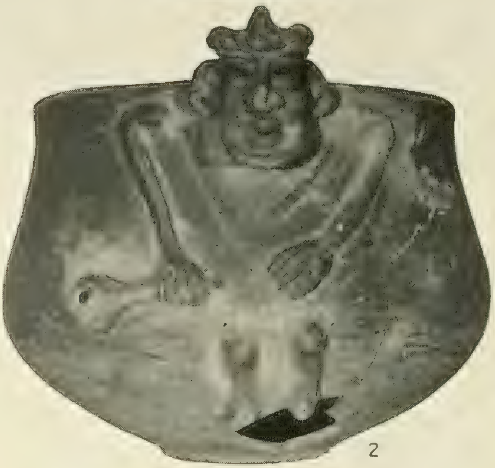

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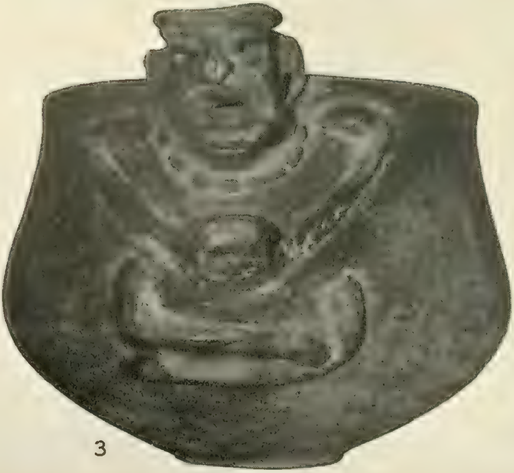

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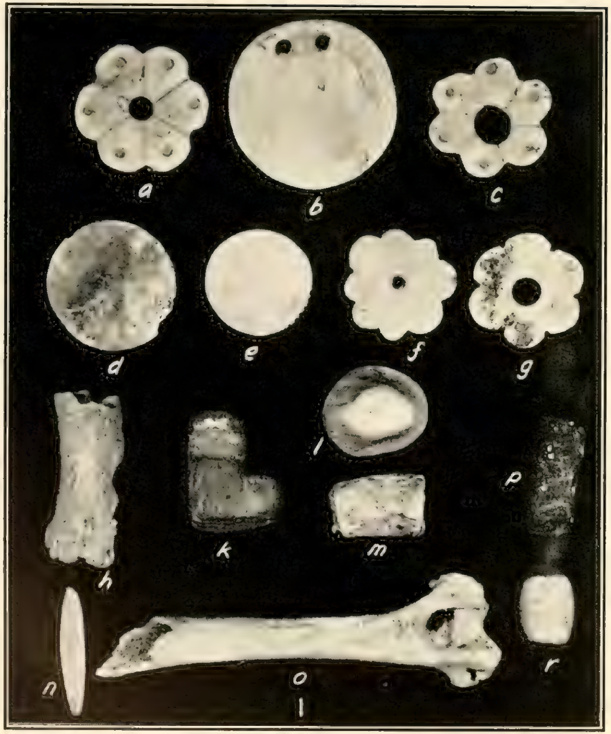
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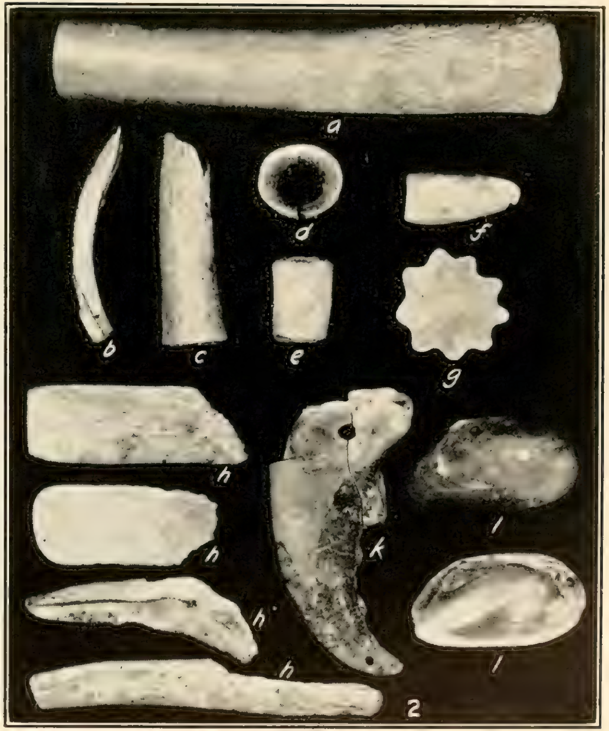
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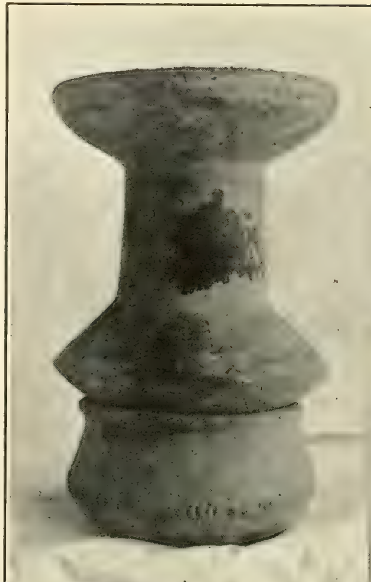
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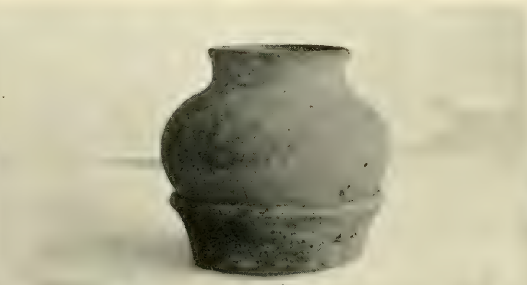
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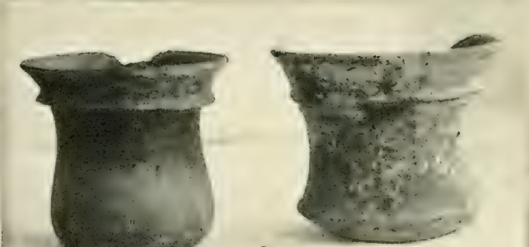
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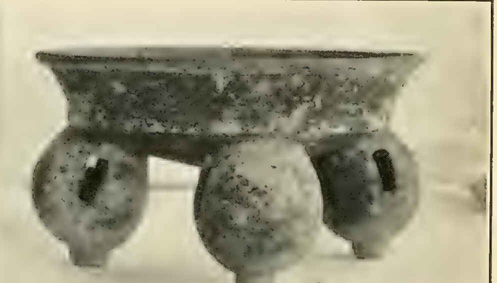
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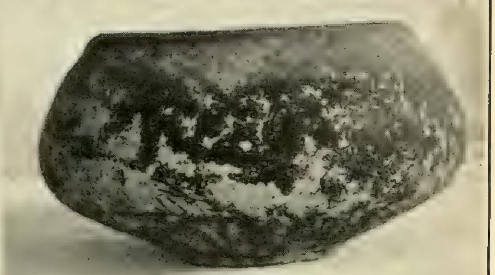
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Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 8

Linguistic Classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi Dialects

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF CREE AND MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI DIALECTS

By Truman Michelson

In 1912 I had an opportunity to study the Cree of Fort Totten (North Dakota), and in 1920 had a chance to study the Cree of Files Hill, Saskatchewan, Canada. In 1923 I observed the Montagnais of Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini at Pointe Bleu, Quebec. In 1924 at the Northwest River I studied the dialect of Davis Inlet from an Indian there, and gained a little knowledge of the dialect of the Northwest River. The American Council of Learned Societies made it possible for me in the summer and early fall of 1935 to do field-work among some of the Algonquian Indians in the vicinity of James and Hudson's Bay. I visited Moose Factory, Rupert's House, Fort George, and the Great Whale River. However, I was able to do a little work on the Albany Cree and Ojibwa owing to their presence at Moose Factory; and I did a few minutes work with an East Main Indian whom I stumbled across at Rupert's House; similarly I worked for a few minutes on the Weenusk dialect as an Indian from there chanced to come to Moosonee at the foot of James Bay. Owing to a grant-in-aid made by the American Council of Learned Societies it was possible for me to again visit the James and Hudson's Bays region in the spring, summer, and early fall of 1936. The results of the previous expedition were checked up as much as possible and additional data gathered. I visited Moose Factory, Fort George, Attawapiskat, and Weenusk; but it was possible to get data at first hand as well as by correspondence on Rupert's House, and first-hand information on the Albany Cree, owing to the presence at Moose Factory of some Indians who came from the Albany River during my stay at Moose Factory; data on Lac la Ronge was obtained at Moose Factory from an Indian who had just come from there; data on the Ghost River (Chepy River) were obtained from the Hudson's Bay Co.'s post manager whom I met at Moose Factory; data on Trout Lake were obtained from a missionary at Weenusk. By correspondence with Hudson's Bay Co. post managers and some missionaries data on the Cree dialects of Cumberland House, Norway House, Oxford House, God's Lake, Island Lake, Montreal Lake, Stanley, and Pelecan Narrows were gathered. Prof. John M. Cooper of the Catholic University of America has generously supplied some fresh data on Tête de Boule from his field work in 1937, as has Prof. James Geary of the same institution on Algonquin proper from his trip among them in 1937. The American Council of Learned Societies again made a generous grant-in-aid and thus enabled me to do field-work in the summer of 1937 among the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians of the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River. I was at Natashquan, Seven Islands, Moisie, and Bersimis, but was able by personal contact to get data also on St. Marguerite, Godbout, Shelterbay, and Sheldrake. By good luck I met an Indian at Seven Islands who had just come from the northeastern corner of Lake Kaniapiskau in the heart of the Labrador peninsula; and also met an Indian from Davis Inlet on the northern Labrador shore. From a study of this material as well as some contained in documentary sources, it follows that the statements made by me previously in reporting my first expedition to the James and Hudson's Bay region are sustained.[1]† It can not be too strongly emphasized that east of Hannah Bay Cree leaves off and Montagnais-Naskapi begins. Mistassini, Waswanipi, Rupert's House, East Main, Nichigun, Fort George and the Great Whale River bands are *y*-dialects (i. e., dialects in which original *l* is replaced by *y*) of Montagnais-Naskapi to which the dialect spoken at the northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau may now be added. That the Fort George and Great Whale River bands distinctly form a subgroup within this larger one is confirmed.[2] Similarly, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, Tête de Boule is a Cree dialect in which original *l* is replaced by *r*. According to Prof. John M. Cooper there is also an *l*-dialect spoken there; this is confirmed by Mr. Frankland, post manager of the Hudson's Bay Co. at Seven Islands, but formerly at Obidjuan, as well as by a statement of Joseph Kurtness, a Mistassini Indian whom I met at Lake St. John in 1923.[3] However, within historic times there has been a migration from the neighborhood of the Albany River; so that the present location of this *l* Cree dialect may be recent. The accompanying map (fig. 12) shows my latest information regarding the *l* and *n* dialects in the neighborhood of the Albany River. As explained previously, Romanists use the *n*-dialect and Anglicans the *l*-dialect. However, it may be noted that the Roman Catholic "Catechisme" of 1854 is essentially in the *l*-dialect. I do not know if Mrs. Corcoran, the wife of an officer of the Hudson's Bay Co. at the Albany post, assisted in this particular work or not, nor do I know her exact linguistic affiliations. Some other Roman Catholic works of the early period and even a little later are also in this *l*-dialect. The "English" river of my previous reports for a long time (I do not know the precise date) has been called the "Churchill River" and is not the present "English River."[4] At Lac La Ronge a *th*-dialect (one in which *th* replaces original *l*) occurs. The new data show that the Cree dialects at Cumberland House, Norway House, Oxford House, Trout Lake, and God's Lake are also *n*-dialects.[5] It may be mentioned that the *n*-dialects of the Albany River, Attawapiskat and Weenusk, are all closely related; there are, however, some differences in idiom and vocabulary. I have not sufficient data to know how closely the "new" dialects resemble them. At Montreal Lake, Stanley, and Pelican Narrows the Cree dialects are *y*-dialects, i. e., dialects in which original *l* is replaced by *y*. The dialect at Island Lake is apparently mixed Cree and Ojibwa and the proportion of mixture is said to be high. However Ojibwa (-Algonkin) can also be shown in varying degrees in a number of Cree dialects (e. g., at Weenusk Ojibwa *cāñk* 9 is in current use for *cāhk;* so too in the Moose Factory dialect there are some such influences both lexically and grammatically). According to information furnished by Prof. John M. Cooper, the Tête de Boule Cree dialect shows a few lexical and grammatical borrowings from Algonkin proper. Conversely, Algonkin proper shows some distinct lexical borrowings from Cree, as proved by Prof. James Geary's notes which he has kindly shown me. Also, some Plains Ojibwa material published by the late Alanson Skinner shows undeniable lexical borrowings from Cree.[6] Despite some published contradictions,[7] the area designated on the map is the *n*-dialect area of Montagnais-Naskapi. In all these dialects of which I have any independent knowledge terminally *-tc* (*-ts*) appears as *-t*. Whereas the extreme southeastern dialects are sharply set off, going west of Natashkwan the intervening dialects beginning with Mingan and continuing perhaps as far as Godbout (Bersimis certainly is a new area) are mixed, *l* and *n* forms both occurring, as well as *-t* from *-tc* (*-ts*); but the treatment of medial *-ski-* agrees with that of the Bersimis dialect (and Lake St. John) which is a clear-cut *l*-dialect with certain features of its own; as do some other features. Natives feel that Mingan to Bersimis is a linguistic unit; and all things considered I agree.

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† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

Examples of such mixtures are *nīl* "I," *namilweltẹn* "I like it," but *ntcenim* "my father-in-law"—all at Moisie and from the same informant (percontra *ntcelim* at Godbout, which is historically justified); or *lēgu* "sand," *nī'n*, *nī'l* "I," *tcī'n tcī'l* "thou," *nā'pẹwut* "men," *kā'tepeltak* "he who controls it" (the designation of the all-high

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† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

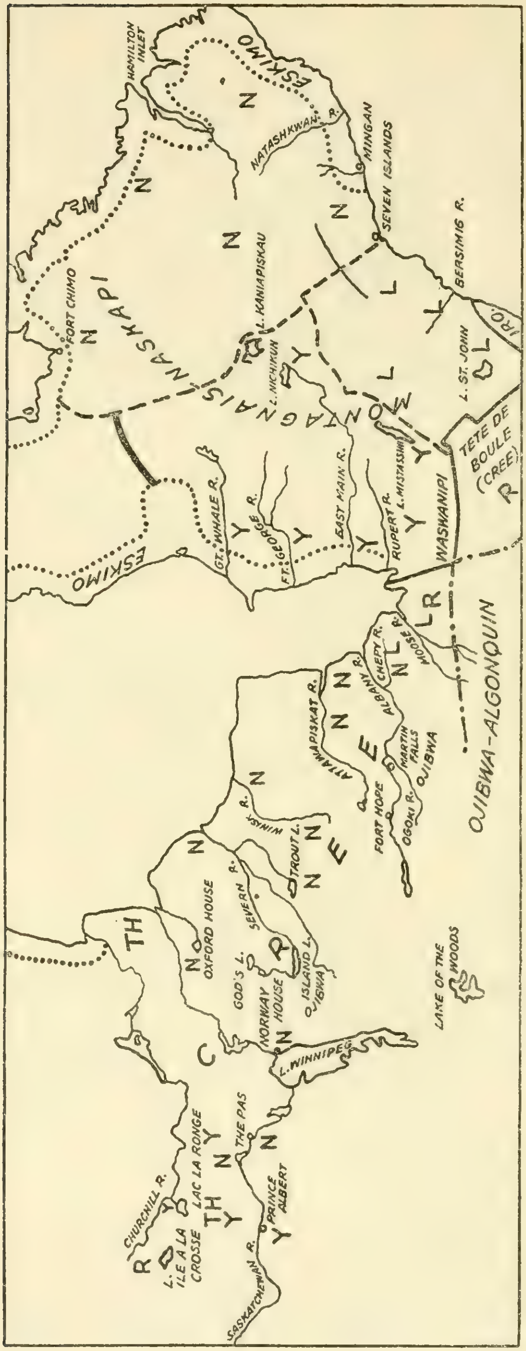
HAMILTON INLET
ESKIMO
NATASHKWAN R.
MINGAN
SEVEN ISLANDS
BERSIMIS R.
IRO.
FORT CHIMO
NASKAPI
L. KANIAPISKAU
L. NICHIKUN
L. ST. JOHN
MONTAGNAIS
TETE DE BOULE (CREE)
GT. WHALE R.
FT. GEORGE R.
EAST MAIN R.
RUPERT R.
L. MISTASSINI
WASWANIPI
ESKIMO
OJIBWA-ALGONQUIN
MOOSE R.
CHEPY R.
ALBANY R.
ATTAWAPISKAT R.
MARTIN FALLS
OJIBWA
FORT HOPE
OGOKI R.
WINISK R.
TROUT L.
SEVERN R.
OXFORD HOUSE
GOD'S L.
NORWAY HOUSE
ISLAND L.
OJIBWA
LAKE OF THE WOODS
L. WINNIPEG
THE PAS
LAC LA RONGE
CHURCHILL R.
L. ILE A LA CROSSE
PRINCE ALBERT
SASKATCHEWAN R.
N
Y
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Figure 12.—Distribution and interrelations of the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects.

god)—all from a single informant of Shelter Bay (*kā̃'tipeldahk*, Godbout). Observe a moderately consistent *n*-speaker at Seven Islands gave *la'lamisut* "thunder" with false *l* in both cases (false because not historically justified; nor does it occur in the Lake St. John *l*-dialect). In this connection it should be noted that all the Montagnais-Naskapi *l*-dialects as well as the mixed *n*-group of which I have any knowledge, have variants of *kassinu* "all" which obviously is a transformation of an early loan from the *n*-dialects (Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*: which shows that **kassilu* should be expected). All this goes on to show, if taken in conjunction with what has been said above, that a strictly genealogical classification of Algonquian languages breaks down. Nevertheless the accompanying map shows the essential distribution and interrelations of the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. In this connection it should be added that although it is commonly supposed that Cree is always more archaic than Montagnais-Naskapi, actually this is not so; it is true that Cree in many cases is more archaic, but Cree is not universally so; it follows, therefore, that neither is derived from the other, but both have so much in common that they both must come essentially from a single source within the Algonquian stock. True transition-dialects between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi are unknown to me, if they actually exist. The boundaries seem very sharp outside of a possible few and altogether insignificant cases where either direct or indirect speech mixture is plausible. Characteristic of all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is the palatization of *k*, some vocalic harmony, the weakening of some vowels and diphthongs, etc. The Montagnais of LeJeune (in the Jesuit Relations) shows mixture; and some words, and even one whole sentence, instead of being Montagnais is Algonkin proper. It should be borne in mind that *khi* (and some variants) actually designate a sound usually transcribed by *tc* (which in Montagnais-Naskapi may be primary or secondary): without this knowledge we should be obliged to assume some words were really Cree (Tête de Boule?) which would mean a large shift of population had taken place. This hypothesis is probably unnecessary.[8]

This paper throughout presupposes knowledge of Bloomfield's remarkable paper on the sound system of Central Algonquin (Language, I, pp. 130–156, 1925) and the literature therein cited. Attention may also be called to my "Preliminary Classification, etc." (Twenty-eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.) and to other scattered papers, mostly in the American Anthropologist and International Journal of American Linguistics.

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† See Appendix, p. 86, for footnotes.

Most of the phonetic shifts of Cree (and hence largely Montagnais-Naskapi) are known, and in their final promulgation are due to Bloomfield. It should be mentioned that a few are not and that these affect Montagnais-Naskapi as well as Cree. Thus the laws of shortening long vowels are unknown, e. g., Cree pipun "winter" has *u* where *ō* is to be expected, and so in all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge. So also the *u* for *i* in Cree *nimusum* [**nimisōm* expected] "my grandfather" (vocalic assimilation and shortening; cf. Fox *neme'cōme'sᴀ*) and its correspondents in Montagnais-Naskapi. Also there have been extensive analogical levelings common to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Thus, the original verbs in -*ä* -*ā* (kept in Fox) in the paradigms have been leveled to -*ā*; and the -*ä* (Cree -*ē*) verbs leveled to -*ā* in the first persons and second persons of the indicative. Again, verbal stems containing original *ā* and *ō* in the first syllable show "change" in participles, etc., as do also at least Ojibwa and Algonkin (Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo do not; the "change" of **a* to **ä*, and **u* to **wä* is proto-Algonquian in any event). It is likely that the difference of the vocalism in the "change" of Cree (M-N also) **ā* and Ojibwa-Algonkin is due to a phonetic shift (see my discussion of Cree *kīyāsk* "gull" above), but the "change" of *ō* in Cree (and M–N) analogical. There are also some lexical traits peculiar to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Thus, correspondents to Plains Cree *pēyak* "one" exist all over the area; so too correspondents to Plains Cree *mahkēsiw* "fox" evidently did at one time, yet at present Ojibwa-Algonkin *wāguc* has replaced the word in one Tête de Boule dialect. Noteworthy is Plains Cree *nōhkumis* which means "my paternal uncle"; corresponds to this with this meaning (extended in some Montagnais dialects to mean "my maternal uncle") exist in all Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge. [Historically the word should mean "grandmother."] I do not think that correspondents to Plain Cree *nistim* with the value of "my cross-niece" are universal in the Cree area but they surely must be nearly so. Historically it should mean "my daughter-in-law" and it is used with this value over a wide area. In a few Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects it is replaced by a variant for "my daughter-in-law." Similarly the term (Plains Cree) *nitihkwitim* "my cross-nephew" structurally is peculiar to Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi; the distribution favors the asumption that it once was universal; but it is not now; I do not know whether wherever correspondents to this occur they can also be used with the sense "my son-in-law" but they certainly can in some dialects of Cree and Naskapi. I have been asked to give at least a word that in phonemic (not phonetic) transcription is characteristic of the whole area, and occurs in no other Algonquian language or dialect. This is not an easy thing to do (per contra it is easy to cite characteristic words of Menomini which occur nowhere else, e. g., *wēhnew* "he, she names him, her," *kō'new* "he, she fears him, her" [the last is preferable because an almost identic word for the first occurs in a Cree dialect], Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, e. g., *kīnwāwa* [phonemic orthography] and Peoria-Miami, e. g., *kīlswa* "sun" but I think in phonemic transcription *nitāhkusin* "I am sick" is universal. On the other hand it is extremely easy to cite quantities of words which must be Cree and nothing else and which occur in every single Cree dialect as far as known. Such words in phonemic transcription are *nikīwān* "I return," *pīhtukēw* "he enters," *ituhtēwak* "they go thither," *pēyak* "one," *nistu* "three," *nipīhk* "in the water," *uskinīkiwak* "young men," *pipun* "winter," *niwiwīhkistēn* "I like the taste of it," *mōskīstawēwak* "they rush on them," *niwāpamāwak* "I see them an.," *itwēwak* "they said," *ēkitimākisiyan* "when you were in misery"; etc. If we extend this list to include also words which occur in identic form also in some though not all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of course it will be much increased. It is easy to increase the list of words of identic form which occur in several Cree dialects but not all are included (e. g., *mahkēsiw* "wolf"). At this point it should be pointed out that with the present material it is not possible to duplicate or approach the work that has been done on some European languages and more recently on American English either as regards phonetic, morphological, or syntactical differences; or distribution of words. A single person can not even accumulate the necessary materials, to say nothing of interpreting it. It goes without saying the published missionary dictionaries of Plains Cree and grammars, as well as Bloomfield's Plains Cree texts, and the Dictionaire Francais-Montagnais . . . et Grammaire Montagnaise by Geo. Lemoine and Montagnais sans Maitre by Luc Sirois (both essentially concerned with the *l*-dialects; the latter deals specifically with the Bersimis dialect) have materially lightened my task. The simplist classification of the Cree dialects is based upon the transformations of original **l* shown on the map. The transformations of the original **l* in Cree and Montgnais-Naskapi are wholly independent; and similar independent changes have occurred elsewhere (e. g., the transformation of **l* to *n*; as long as this change occurs in Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Menomini, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and modern Algonkin which are all geographically contiguous it is not likely that in this group the change is independent but has spread). Owing to lack of data it is quite impossible to tell with certainty as to whether the change to *r* in Isle à la Cross, Kesagami (which is virtually extinct), and

Tête de Boule Cree is independent or not. A good "key" word for the *l*-dialects in the neighborhood of Moose Factory is *kīlawāw* "ye." For Moose Factory *niyālal* "five" is good because *niyānal* occurs near the Albany River. For "key" words in the other Cree dialects correspondents to Moose Cree *kīlawāw* are better than to Moose Cree *kīla* "thou" (which is not a good key word as in phonemic transcription it occurs in Shawnee and Miami-Peoria [unless Voegelin is correct in writing Shawnee *ii* for *ī*]) because *kīna* in phonemic transcription also occurs in Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. [Similarly *nīla*, *nīna*, are best avoided; of course *nīya* is not good; *nīθa* is good enough, but *kīθawāw* will conform to the other "key" words.] A classification based on only a single feature is insufficient, but it really works reasonably well in the present case because exhaustive dictionaries and grammars of every single dialect do not exist. To make up the deficiency partially a few notes are appended. The Cree dialect at Turtle Mountain (North Dakota) is a *y*-dialect; in my vocabulary of over 25 years ago I recorded *θt* in place of *ht* (*wāpaθtam* for *wāpahtam* "he sees it"). A single speaker gave a sentence *wāpamēw utānisan* "he, she sees his, her own daughter" which is obviously mixed Cree and Ojibwa. According to some published and unpublished sources in the *th*-dialect *miθku* "blood" occurs in place of *mihku* (Fox *meʿckwi* phonetically). The numeral 6 for *nikutwāsik* occurs in both Plains Cree (*y*-dialect) and *th*-dialect which in Fox is *negutwācika* (phonemic transcription). The word is wanting in the *n*-dialects of Attawapiskat and Wenusk as well as the *l*-dialect of Moose Factory, *Swāsik* "eight" has a correspondent in Fox *cwācika;* *swāsik* is said to be the old word at Weenusk but is replaced today by *niyānānēw*, and variations of this occur in Plains Cree, Attawapiskat, and Moose Factory. (Plains Cree *ayēnānēw*, Moose Factory *yānānēw*.) The *n*-dialects of Albany, Attawapiskat, and Weenusk are very close to each other. Lexical differences (mostly names for articles of European origin) between the Albany and Weenusk dialects occur, such as (in phonetic, not phonemic transcription). A *kwâ'pahigαn* "cup, basin," W. *minihkwâ'gαn;* A. *kαpα'htciwān* "lid of a kettle," W. *kipa'higαn;* A. *cīgαhun* "comb," W. *pi'nāhkwαn;* A. *tāpickwā'sun* "spool of thread," W. *sē'stαg;* A. *pōhtēnēgαn* "*thimble,*" W. *kα'skigwā'sunāpisk;* A. *mōci'twαwin* "scissors," W. *mā'tcigαn;* A. *câl* "shawl," W. *αgu'niwin;* A. *ndαgαp* "dress," W. *niskutāgai* (obscene and obsolescent; the Albany word is now in common use; A. *pα'lαtcī's* "trousers," W. *mitā's* (the old word for "leggin," the Albany word is a corruption of English breeches; *payatcīs* in at least some Plains Cree dialects), A. *pα'guyān* "shirt," W. *pα'guyānisāgai; A. sīpustēwigān* "sweater," W. *sīpēgiskāwiyān.* Though the old word for "nine" *cāhk* (Fox *cāgᴀ* in Jones' transcription) is known at Weenusk it is ordinarily replaced by Ojibwa *cāñg* (incidentally Baraga's *jangasswi* is made after the analogy of *midâsswi* "ten"). The Plains Cree dialects (*y*-dialects) evidently have mostly *kēkāt mitātaht.* According to Horden, this last is also known at Moose Factory. An extension of *cāhk* also occurs according to the same authority (*shaketat*) who also gives a form which can be restored in phonemic transcription as *pēyakustēw* which has exact equivalents in at least the following Montagnais-Naskapi dialects: Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, Natashquan, Davis Inlet, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau, Mistassini, Rupert's House, Fort George, and the Great Whale River. Clearly the word is primarily Montagnais-Naskapi and has made its way into Moose Cree. The numerals for "six" and "seven" at Weenusk (phonetically *ngutwāc*, *nīcwāc* respectively) differ completely from the corresponding numerals in Plains Cree, and agree structurally in Moose Cree, Attawapiskat, and the following Montagnais-Naskapi dialects: Rupert's House, Fort George, Great Whale River, Mistassini, Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau, Natashquan, Davis Inlet, Fort George, Great Whale River (allowing for phonetic differences). [According to Horden Moose Cree also possesses for the Plains Cree numeral for "seven," *tēpakuhp;* to judge from J. Howse, A Grammar of the Cree Language, etc., besides the equivalent of this, the *th*-dialect also uses (approximately) *nīswāsik.*] Clearly the Ojibwa and Algonkin correspondents are based on close if not precise equivalents. So from the general distribution with the means at our disposal, it can be inferred that a spread westward has occurred. Note, too, the numeral for "eight" has a similar structure at Lake St. John, Bersimis, Seven Islands, Mingan, Natashquan, and Davis Inlet. [Again, Ojibwa and Algonkin have close but not exact equivalents; in my opinion the termination *-wi* has spread from the numeral for "ten".] Here is an "isogloss" between major divisions of the Montagnais-Naskapi dialects.

In view of these distributions it is certainly peculiar that at Weenusk *mitātα'ciwαg* "they an. are ten" occurs, which in phonemic transcription is *mitātasiwak* which occurs in Plains Cree (*y*-dialect) [cf Menomini mitātahsiwᴀk, Fox metā‘ciwᴀgi]. For the forms of Moose Cree given by Horden, A Grammar of the Cree Language, etc., London, 1881, on pp. 79, 80, *Nekotwache-wuk* "They are six," *Neswache-wuk* "They are seven," *Metache-wuk* "They are ten," are distinctly reminiscent of Ojibwa and Algonkin rather than Cree (this type spread in Moose Cree). Moose Cree has some Ojibwa (Algonkin) loan-words, e. g., *mihkināhk* "turtle," Plains Cree *miskināhk.* And it has at least one loan word from an *n*-Cree dialect, *kahkinaw* "all", if Horden is correct (Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*). Characteristic of Moose Cree is *mitcu'n* "completely" (normal Cree *mituni*), and *Wīsahkwētcāhk* (name of the culture hero; Weenusk, etc. *Wīsahkētcāhk*). It should be mentioned that Weenusk Cree (an *n*-dialect) agrees with Moose Cree (*l*-dialect) in having *s* in such forms as *nipāspan* [phonemic transcription] "he slept" (past subjunctive) where Plains Cree has *h* (*nipāhpan*); the latter seems reminiscent of Ojibwa. On the other hand Moose and Weenusk Cree have the vocative plural in *-tuk*, Plains Cree *-tik* (the first agrees in vocalism with Ojibwa, and Penobscot; Fox agrees with Plains Cree); Lemoine gives vocative pl. for *l*-Montagnais as in *-tuk*. It may be noted that what Horden designates as dubitative mood (Fox interrogative) in Moose Cree is living; in Plains Cree, to judge from Bloomfield's texts this is not so. The common supposition that *c* (*sh*) for *s* is diagnostic especially of Moose Cree is erroneous. The variation *ă* for *ā* occurs, but also elsewhere in the region of James and Hudson's Bays; the exact distribution is unknown. It should be added that not only the kinship system but actual kinship terms at Moose so coincides with those of other Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects on both sides of the bays (excluding East Main and Rupert's House on both of which I have too little data to utilize their evidence) that dissemination or at any rate influencing is clear. A special Moose feature is that in comparatively recent times *nīstāw* "my brother-in-law" with male speaker (and this is old as proved by comparative linguistics) has begun to be used (though not exclusively) with the same meaning by female speakers. I repeat again that I am indebted to Prof. John M. Cooper for kind permission to use his Tête de Boule linguistic material. This Cree dialect is an *r*-dialect; there is also an *l*-dialect but it is uncertain whether this is the result of a comparatively recent immigration from the neighborhood of the Albany River. The treatment of final *-*wa* in positions in which as far as known it is lost in other Cree dialects is most peculiar. Sometimes it appears as -^{u} (suggesting Montagnais influence or a parallelism), sometimes kept as -^{wa}, sometimes *-wa* is lost. I do not know the rationale of this. Of course *Amikwa*, the name of an Algonquian tribe found on the north shore of Lake Huron, opposite Manitoulin island, associated with the Nipissing, is a parallel for the second alternative, for in ordinary Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Algonkin dialects *-*wa* would be lost in this position (Fox *amehkwa*, Cree *amisk*, Ojibwa and Algonkin *amihk* in Bloomfield's transcription). Algonkin influence in morphology is shown by *-tc* being used in verbal-forms where *-t* should be expected (e. g., *mĭreritam ē wābamā'tc* "he is glad to see him"), though apparently in some localities by some speakers *-t* forms are used. Characteristic of Tête de Boule is *kă'skina* "all" (I have a suspicion that this is a fusion of two words for which Indo-European parallels abound). A peculiar umlaut is to be seen in *nĭk'ŭ'k* "otter" which comes from Proto-Algonquian **nekekwa* (rigid proof of this can be given but is rather long and is so omitted; a careful study of cognates in other Algonquian languages and knowledge of the principles of Algonquian phonology will convince any one that this is correct) and similarly in *ki'juk* "sky" (Fox *kī'cegwᴀ* in Michelson's transcription) which to a certain extent is paralleled in Montagnais-Naskapi. As long as *kātcitōwask* (a supernatural monster) is known as well as kāgĭtōwask, Montagnais-Naskapi influence can not be denied; and in view of this it may be questioned whether or not such forms as *atik*^{u} "caribou" (ordinarily Cree *atihk*; [**atehkwa*] *h* is sometimes omitted by Dr. Cooper where it should be expected but never inserted where it does not belong historically; whether this is governed by phonetic shifts or is otherwise to be explained is uncertain) may not be due to Montagnais-Naskapi influence). A single informant stated that in northern Tête de Boule *icpimiki* "above" occurred. This was contradicted by others. However, *-ki* would be archaic (ordinary Cree *ispimihk*, Ojibwa *icpimiñg*, *Fox ᴀ'pemegi*, Proto-Algonquian **icpemeñki*). Other similar forms with *-i* do not apparently exist in Dr. Cooper's manuscripts; on the contrary similar forms lack the *-i*. The fact that the same informant cites *mi'gis* (a clamshell) in Waswanipi only further muddles the situation, for linguistically the word violates Montagnais-Naskapi phonology.

Characteristic of all Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is the change of *k* to *tc* before original palatal vowels whether these have been subsequently lost or not; the apparent exception *kie* "and" of Lemoine (*l*-dialect) and its correspondents in various dialects is due to the fact that the *i* of this word is unoriginal as shown by Cree *kayē* (similarly Ojibwa and Algonkin); the change of *a* to *i* in this word is clearly subsequent to the shift of *k* to *tc* before palatal vowels. [The combination **-sk-* before palatal vowels appears in the *l*-and mixed *n*-dialects as *-ss-* but primarily as *-stc-* (*-ctc*) in the *y*-and *n*-dialects with some subsequent changes.] The change of **-iw* (earlier *-iwa*) to *u* after consonants is so universal (e. g., Rupert's House *nīmu* "he dances," Cree *nīmiw*, Fox *nīmīwᴀ*) that the very few cases where it does not occur but a different change does, must be due to special limiting conditions as yet unknown. The change of **-wa to -*^{u} (voiceless *u*), or to -^{w} (labialization) after consonants (except after *m* when it is lost) is characteristic of the area (an example is Great Whale River *αti'hk*^{u} "caribou," most Cree dialects *atihk;* this obviously is more archaic than Cree; similarly the plural *α'tihkwαtc* is more archaic than *atihkwak* because though final *i* is lost in both, yet in Montagnais-Naskapi obviously it was kept until after it had altered *k* to *tc* [the animate plural termination in Proto-Algonquian was **-aki* as shown by the evidence of Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Miami, Peoria; similarly the Proto-Algonguian locative ending **-eñki* appears in certainly most Cree dialects as *-ihk*, but *-ihtc* or its transformation in Montagnais-Naskapi]. Such changes as seen in the final syllable of Bersimis *tsimun* "it rains" as compared with Cree *kīmiwan* are so universal (but Davis Inlet is archaic) that any deviations must be considered secondary. Vocalic assimilation caused by a *u* in following syllable in certain cases is so widely and uniformly distributed that presumably they must go back to very early times (even Proto-Montagnais-Naskapi). Such cases are to be seen in Fort George *āhtcuk*^{u} "seal" (Cree *āhkik* for older **āhkikwa*), *ntcu'k*^{u} "otter" (Cree *nikik*, plural *nikiwak*), Davis Inlet *nᴀwāpᴀmuk*^{u} "he sees me" (Cree *niwāpamik*, Fox *newāpᴀmegwᴀ*), Fort George *nuk*^{u}*stukuna'n* "he fears us excl." (Cree *nikustikunān*) [barring the labialization of the first syllable, for I do not know the distribution in this case], etc. The assimilation seen in *pupun* "winter" (Cree *pipun*) is also widely spread; yet in the Fort George dialect I have heard both the assimilated and unassimilated forms. Reduction of vowels, total loss, changing full-sounding vowels to voiceless ones, also are widely spread but seem to be rather different in different dialects. The change of final **-āw* to *-au* and **-aw* to *-u* evidently is old; there are apparently some secondary changes. I have pointed out in the 28th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology that the Montagnais of Lemoine possesses some verbal-forms which have no counterpart in Cree but rather recall Fox. Owing to lack of data it is impossible to say whether these are universal or not. Lexically it may be pointed out that correspondents to Cree *tcīmān* "canoe" are lacking. As pointed out above, derivatives of **pēyakustēw* "nine" apparently is basic to Montagnais-Naskapi dialects and has spread to Moose Cree.

If we now turn to the major divisions of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects we may first take up the *y*-dialects. Besides *y* for original **l*, correspondents to the Proto-Algonquian numerals for "five" and "ten" are diagnostic (**nyālanwi* and **metātahθwi*) [see my papers, The Proto-Algonquian Archetype of 'five,' The archetype of Fox *metāʻswi* 'ten,' etc., Language IX, pp. 270–272, XI, p. 148], for they occur in no other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects as far as known. Also the numeral for "eight" in this group has no correspondents in the other major groups of Montagnais-Naskapi languages (Rupert's House *nyā'nᴀneu*, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *nyānᴀnĕ'u*, Fort George *yen*^{i}*nau'*, Great Whale River niyānᴀ'nau, Moose Cree *yānānēw*, Plains Cree *ayēnānēw*, Weenusk Cree *niyānānēw;* it should be noted that in the Fort George and Great Whale River dialects original **ē* of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi group (Proto-Algonquian *ä) becomes *ā; -ēw* becomes *-au;* ɑ and *i* is a favorite interchange in many Montagnais-Naskapi dialects; but the Fort George word is otherwise unclear though clearly at least partially of the same structure as the others; the second edition of Horden's grammar gives Plains Cree *ayīnānēw* [in Bloomfield's transcription]; the only explanation I can give is that Lacombe's transcription was partially used, for in this *e*=*ē* whereas in Horden's, etc., transcription *e*=*ī*). It should be pointed out that in this group the words for "five" and "man, Indian," are based upon forms which show the same assimilation as in Moose Cree *nyālal* "five", *ililiw* "person" (Proto-Algonquian **nyālanwi*, *ilen wa*); these forms then suffer phonetic transformations (Rupert's House *nyai′’* "five," *ī′yu’* "Indian"). The words *nī’*, *tcī’*, *wī’* "I, thou, he [she]" respectively (with the terminally glottal stop with which words ending in a vowel are usually cited) for Proto-Algonquian **nēla*, **kēla*, **wēla* are characteristic of the *y*-group, not occurring elsewhere. Also the word for "river" in this group characteristically is terminally like Cree *sīpī;* according to Lemoine a form like this occurs at Lake St. John, elsewhere *shīpu* (as if we had Cree **sīpōw*, Fox *sīpōwi*); I have recorded *cīpo’* at Seven Islands and the equivalent at Davis Inlet. Also characteristic of the group is the retention of the diphthong in the word for "sand" (northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *yē′gau*, Fort George *yā′kau’;* Mingan *ne′gu;* Davis Inlet *nēku’;* Lemoine gives *lēkau* and *lēku* without naming the dialects (I suspect that the first is "coined" after a *y*-dialect), Moisie-Shelter Bay *lēgu*, Mingan *lē′gō* (rhetorically lengthened). As I have reported in Language and the American Anthropologist, the dialects of Fort George and the Great Whale River form a distinct subgroup in which *ē* is replaced by *ā* (e. g., GWR. *nau* "four"). I think *Kātcītausk*^{u} the name of the monster who slew the parents of Tcahkāpēs (exact form in GWR. dialect ?) is unique in phonology. Such a vocalism as in *pē′sum’* "sum" (*pī′sum’* at Fort George and Rupert's House) is characteristic of the Great Whale River dialect. So is the phonology to be seen in the final syllable of *tcī′pē’* "ghost" (Rupert's House *tcī′pai*, Lemoine *tshipi*, Cree *tcīpay*). Observe also *wɑ′tck*^{u} "muskrat," Fort George *utsk*^{u}, Rubert's House *utcɑ′ck*^{u}, Lemoine *utshishkŭ*. The reduction in *wī′nɑ*^{sku} "woodchuck" is, I think, peculiar to this dialect. A few characters of the Fort George dialect are the phonology to be seen in *pai′k*^{u} "one" (Great Whale River *pai′*, Rupert's House *pē′k*^{u}, Lake St. John *pe′yik*^{u}, Bersimis *pe*^{iu}*k*^{w}, Seven Islands *pē′k*^{w}’, Moisie *pē*^{i}*k*^{w}’, Mingan *pēyuk*^{w}’, Natashquan *pē′yɑk*^{w}, Davis Inlet *pẹyuk’*, northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau *pē′yɑk* [presumably I missed the labialization in the last two], the nonassimilation in *pipun* "winter" (beside *pupun;* it is possible the informant may have picked up *pipun* from the Moose Cree sailors), also in *tcī'wauk*^{u} "go ye back" (I lack a Great Whale River correspondent; note the vocalic assimilation in *au* caused by ^{u}), the contraction and vocalism in *tcimioimi'tn* "I like thee" [Moose Cree *kimilwēlimitin*]; etc. Much of my Fort George material lacks correspondents elsewhere: therefore I can not tell what is peculiar to the dialect. The vocalic assimilation in *atuhk*^{u} "caribou" is presumably entirely of independent origin though paralleled at Seven Islands, for the other dialects do not show it (Rupert's House *ati'hk*^{u}; the same at the Great Whale River, Sheldrake-Moisie *ati'hk*^{w}', etc.). The name of the mythic monster *Kātītōsk*^{u} occurs in the same form at Rupert's House and Moisie. As characteristic of Rupert's House I have already given *pē'k*^{u} "one." Characteristic is also *ntcihtcī* "my hand", for in all other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of which I have any knowledge the first *tc* of this word is dissimilated to *t*. As a matter of fact *ntihtcī* also occurs in the Rupert's House dialect. We therefore have every reason to suspect that the first form comes from Moose Cree (where the first *tc* remains; it is old, as shown by comparative Algonquian linguistics) and that the dissimilated second form represents the archetype which has historic equivalents in the other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects, that is, such dissimilation goes back to an ancient time. In conclusion I wish to say that in all the *y*-dialects *h* before a consonant where historically expected is very clear, with only a very few cases where I have probably faultily not recorded it.

We turn now to the *l*-major group of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. First we note the maintenance of *l* (which occurs sporadically in the "mixed *n*" group); then *-sk-* becomes *-ss-* before palatal vowels (also in the "mixed *n*" group) as does *-hk-*. Examples are Lake St. John nịl‘ "I" (Bodbout *nīl;* etc. *nī'* in the *y*-dialects; Moose Cree *nīla*), *assī* "land" (Moisie, etc., Fort George *astci'*, Plains Cree *askiy* [in Bloomfield's transcription], *kassinu'* "all" (widely spread, Plains Cree *kahkiyaw*, Moose Cree *kahkinaw*). The whole *l* group has a special term for the numeral for "ten" which has the appropriate changes in the different dialects (Lemoine *nĭkutulĭnu;* Lake St. John *nkutolnu*, Bersimis *kutelnu* [Sirois, *kotelno*]; Seven Islands *ku'tuno''*, Moisie *kut(u)no'*, St. Marguerite River *kutuno'* in the mixed *n*-dialects save Mingan which has a correspondent to the *n*-group term). There is a characteristic term for "five" which has, however, cognates in the "mixed *n*" group and (more removed) in the "unmixed *n*" group (Lemoine *nĭpetētets;* Sirois, *petetets;* Lake St. John *petetetc*‘*;* Moisie *patē'tatc* [from a speaker who regularly retains *-ts*, *-tc*]; Bersimis *patĕ'tats*, Seven Islands and Mingan *patē'tat* [the "mixed *n*" group changes final *-*tc* to -*t* as in the true *n*-

group; terminally aspiration is not phonemic]; observe also Natashquan *patē'ta*, Davis Inlet *pate'ta* in the "unmixed *n*" group; the exact explanation for these last forms is not at hand; since final *-tc* normally appears as *-t* it is possible that a final *-t* has been lost by dissimilation). [I have recorded *pate'tat* once at Davis Inlet.] The *l*-group agrees with the *y*-group in *-tc* (*-ts*) as an affricative in contrast to both the "mixed" and "unmixed *n*-groups" which convert the affricative to a stop, *-t*. The question as to the retention of *h* before *k*, etc., in this group where historically expected is now taken up. My Lake St. John data is from an informant who really was a Mistassini; so that although this indicates the *h* was kept, it is possible that his own Mistassini speech (a *y*-dialect) may have "colored" his Lake St. John data. At Bersimis a single informant consistently omitted it, but *k* from *-hk-* between vowels does not become phonetically *-g-* whereas *-k-* from *-k-* in this position at times acoustically has the effect of *-g-*. A speaker of the "mixed *n*" group at Seven Islands consistently did the same. Likewise an informant of Moisie who resides at Sheldrake. However, an informant from Godbout gave not only *ntcelim* "my father-in-law" but also *kā'tepeldahk* "he who bosses it" (the high god). One informant who has resided at Moisie for 51 years though originally from Bersimis gave forms with *hk* and *k*. Another informant born at Sheldrake though residing at Seven Islands gave forms with *htc*, *ht*, and *hk*, but also forms *k* (*nitihtci'* "my hand," *kuca'pahtcigan* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *niwa'pahten* "I see it," *kākuca'pahtahk* "the shaman of the shaking lodge," *katependahk* "he who is the master," *ci'hkucic* "ermine," *ati'hkʷʿ* "caribou," *ma'htcẹcu* "fox" in all of which *h* is expected etymologically; but I recorded *alị'k* "toad", *nō'kum* "my grandmother," *akucu'* "he is sick" in all three of which *hk* should be expected). One informant at Seven Islands gave such forms as *kă'tapendahk* "he who bosses it," *kuca'pahtcigan* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *u'hpan* "lung" but *nota* "my father," and *no'kum* "my grandmother." At Mingan *-hk-* and *-k-* are variaphones. I mention this particularly in view of my criticism of Speck in the American Anthropologist, n. s. 39, p. 371.

As far as I know, all of the *l*-group and "mixed *n*-group" lack any correspondent to Natashquan *nti'hkwatim* (also at Romaine and St. Augustine; I gather from Strong's paper in the American Anthropologist, n.s. 31, p. 277, that there are equivalents in the Davis Inlet and Barren Grounds dialects) with the meaning "son-in-law" etc. [historically the word means "my cross-nephew" and is certainly used with this value in some Cree dialects, not in the vicinity of James and Hudson's Bays, and also sometimes with the value also of "my son-in-law"]; they have a term which corresponds to the *y*-dialects [Cree *nahāhkisīm*]. However, the linguistic evidence postulates a Proto-Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi *nitihkwatim* which form is confined to these languages; Proto-Algonquian had **neθeñkwaθehsa* "my cross-nephew," possible also a form without the diminutive suffix. I have pointed out that both the *l* and *n* groups (save Lake St. John) have a word for "river" which postulates an earlier sīpō(w) [cf. Fox sīpōwi] whereas the *y*-group has a word corresponding to Cree sīpī. Owing to the lack of comparable data I can not give hardly anything to characterize the individual *l*-dialects. I will mention, however, that *essi* "land" with initial *e-* occurs only at Bersimis. In the Bersimis dialect also *tc* appears as *ts*. I again call attention to the "mixed *n*-group"; though they show occasional *l* (where original), and though the treatment of medial *-sk-* before palatal vowels is like that of the *l*-dialects, terminally *-tc* becomes *-t* as is the case in the unmixed *n*-group.

The major *n* group will not detain us long. There is no data to amount to anything in much of this area. So the following is merely tentative. Besides the change of *l* to *n*, final *-tc* became *-t;* probably *-t*ʻ in phonetic transcription but *-t* in phonemic transcription (which also occurs in the "mixed *n*-group," *ilnut*, *inut* "Indians"); the treatment of original *-sk-* before palatal vowels was the same as in the *y*-dialects with changes in some individual dialects. The numeral for "ten" seems to be characteristic of the whole group, even though it also occurs at Mingan which seems to be of the "mixed *n*-group." Observe Mingan *pē′yɑkʷunʷ*, Natashquan *pē′yɑgwano* and *pē′yɑgunu*ʻ, Davis Inlet *peyugunu.*

In the Natashquan dialect a sibilant normally becomes *h* (I have heard from Indians that the same thing happened at Romaine and St. Augustine); compare also Speck, American Anthropologist, n. s. 33, p. 586 (his *j* is used with the value of French, not English *j*). I have given some examples above, but I give some here as it is appropriate: *nihtēh* "my elder brother," *nīhtau*ʼ "my brother-in-law (male speaker), *wītci′htentɑm* "he wishes to know it," *ami′hkʷ*ʻ "beaver," *ihpahtau* "he runs thither," *mihkwami*ʼ "ice," *tci′htēmau′* "tobacco," *kuhāpahtcigɑn* "the shamanistic shaking lodge," *mahtcēhu′*ʼ "fox," *kutwaht* "six", *nī′h* "two." For interest I add *win*ʼ *kā′tōtahk tcīhigunu* "he who has made the day." But variants occur; *ɑcini′ and ɑhini′* "stone" both occur, and I recorded *nist*ᵘ "three." It is possible or even probable that these variants were due to unconscious imitation by my informants of the speech of my interpreter (who was of Mingan). At Davis Inlet this shift is lacking, e. g., *nictic* "my older brother," *ucpwāgɑn* "pipe," *nitcistcẹnɑmukʷ* "he knows me" [Moose Cree *nikiskēlimik;* Fox *nekeʻkänemegwʌ;* see also above], *ɑstici′*ʼ "land." The vocalism seen in Davis Inlet *tcimwɑn* "it rains" differs from that of all other Montagnais-Naskapi dialects which we have so far considered (Natashquan *tcimun';* Cree *kimiwan.* The vocalism of *me'sk*^{u} "bear" and *se'tcimeu* "mosquito" seems not to occur in the dialects for which there is data (Cree *maskwa*, *sākimēw*). Also the plural *i'nwαt*ʿ "Indians" apparently is characteristic. It may be noted that terminal *-hp*ʿ sounds nearly like *-f*. The word for "kettle" I recorded more than once *astci*^{ʿu} (Cree *askihk*, Fox *ᴀʿkuʿk*

With the materials at my disposal I have now done as much as possible; and it is hoped that this will at least serve as a stepping stone to an exhaustive classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. Some slight inconsistency in orthography and the double use of phonetic and phonemic transcription is a matter of convenience.

APPENDIX

[1] American Anthropologist, n. s. 38: 685, 686; Language, 12: 135, 136.

[2] Every one (including myself) has overlooked the fact that Chamberlain, Ann. Archaeol. Rept. 1905, App. Rept. Min. Ed. Ont., Toronto, 1906, p. 123, correctly saw that Mistassini was a Montagnais (-Naskapi) dialect, even if he was unaware of its immediate affiliations. For those who care to follow the course of the controversy on Mistassini, etc., these additional references may be useful: F. Speck, Proceedings of the Twenty-first Congress of Americanists, First Part, The Hague, p. 268 [1924], Proceedings American Philosophical Soc. 65, pp. 275, 276 [1926], JAFL 28, p. 70; in a photographic reproduction of a map signed and dated '26 Waswanipi is still classified as Cree; in his map published in AA., n. s. 33, p. 565 [1931], it is apparently also so classified; Davidson, JAFL 41, p. 262 [1925] abandoned his more cautious attitude and said unreservedly "Waswanipi Cree;" Jenness, Indians of Canada, pp. 266, 283, 423 [1932] should also be consulted. I presume Speck met a migrant Waswanipi who spoke either Moose Creek or Waswanipi mixed with Moose Cree. At Moose Factory I met just such a person, and at Fort George another Waswanipi migrant who spoke a different mixture. Although the maxim is de mortuis nihil nisi bonum, I am compelled to state that the map and accompanying remarks by A. Skinner, Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. N. H., IX, pp. 8–11 (1911; the whole volume appeared in 1912) is practically without value; when it is stated that the terms are given in the dialect of the respective divisions, it simply is not so. Such a term as *Kīwétin-īluwug* (Fort George) is mixed Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi, probably an attempt of some migrant to give the native term. The author had insufficient skill to know what linguistically is Cree and what is Montagnais-Naskapi; and when it is stated that the Fort George Indians speak the same dialect as at Rupert's House, I can say definitely that it is not so. I pass over other vagaries. Proof positive that the dialect of the northeastern corner of Lake Kaniapiskau belongs to the *y*-group of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects, and to the group represented typically by the dialect of Rupert's House is shown by *i'cpimihtc* "up above,"*ickwāhtom* "door," *tōhkāpu'* "he, she opens his, her eyes," *nā'peutc* "men," *yē'gau* "sand," *nyai'* "five" *ᵗᶜⁱstēⁱhtam* "he, she knows it," *kā'tapēⁱhtahk* "he who bosses it," *mī'tciwāhp* "dwelling, tent," *mīwē'ⁱhtamutc* "they like it," etc.

[3] Tête de Boule has mostly (erroneously) been classified as Algonkin (Algonquin). Beside the references given by me in previous publications, the following are of historic interest: F. Speck, Indian Notes, Heye Museum, 4, p. 251, [1927], JAFL 38, p. 2 [1925], the photographic reproduction of the map mentioned above, dated and signed '26 (all classified as Algonquin, or Algonquin-Ojibwa, Ojibwa); Jenness, Indians of Canada [1932], p. 276 (Algonquin); the classification by Davidson, Atti del Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti Roma, Settembre 1926, Vol. II, Roma, 1928, p. 70, is not entirely clear to me; in view of his previous classification of Tête de Boule as Algonkin (Algonquin), this presumably is still maintained; Chamberlain, Ann. Archaeol.

Rept. 1905, App. Rept. Min. Ed. Ont., Toronto, 1906, p. 123, faultily classified Tête de Boule as Montagnais; beside the correct classification by Cooper mentioned in my previous reports, his correct classification is in the same volume of the Atti, etc. (noted above), as Davidson's rather unclear one; on Speck's map, p. 565 of AA, n. s. 33 [1931] it is apparently correctly classified. A complete and accurate classification of all Ojibwa-Algonquin dialects is a great desideratum. Some of the published material does not even positively tell us whether a given dialect is Ojibwa or Algonquin. The orthography of Algonquin in the Jesuit Relations at times reflects the orthography of Montagnais. The *r*-dialect (e. g., *chaθcrindamaθin* "ayez pitié de nous", JR, ed. Thwaites, vol. 16, p. 44) early disappeared or was modified. When Alexander Henry, Travels and adventures in Canada, etc., New York, 1809, p. 214, says of the language of the Têtes de Boule "mixture of those of its neighbours, the Chipeways and Cristinaux" this partially anticipates Professor Cooper's information, but of course is an error if taken in the sense that the dialect is a thoroughgoing amalgam of the two. Possibly nonspecialists would be glad to know Cristinaux is a synonym of Cree. The older maps are quite unreliable on linguistic matters; very obviously "native" names are not "native." How and why Cree was extended to cover much of the territory east of James and Hudson's Bays is unknown to me. Even at Seven Islands a native called the Fort George Indians "Crees" which linguistically is not so. So, too, when at Lake St. John I heard whites refer to the Mistassini as Crees. Similarly, John McLean, Notes of a twenty-five year's service in the Hudson's Bay Territories, *in* vol. XIX of the Pub. Champlain Soc., Toronto, 1932, p. 258, "The Indians . . . of Ungava are a tribe of the Cree nation designated Nascopies . . . Their language, a dialect of the Cree or Cristeneau, exhibits a considerable mixture of Saulteaux words . . ." [See ch. IX, vol. II of the original edition, London, 1849.] (Of course the mixture of Saulteaux is untenable, to judge from Turner's unpublished vocabulary; W. B. Cabot *apud* Labrador, etc. W. R. Grenfell and others, New York, 1913, of course repeats it, substituting Ojibway for Saulteaux; this means nothing, cf. my criticism, below, of his "In Northern Labrador"). See also H. Y. Hind, Exploration in the Interior of The Labrador Peninsula, London, 1863, vol. I, pp. 33, 322, vol. II, p. 97, and Turner in the Eleventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 267. According to Prof. J. M. Cooper (the Northern Algonquin Supreme Being, C U A, Anthrop. Ser. 2, p. 73) in Gorst's day, 1670–75, to judge from the short vocabulary, at Rupert's House the Indians used a Cree *r*-dialect, though today they speak a Montagnais one. [This is in Oldmixon, now easily accessible in Tyrrell, Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay, vol. XVIII of the Publications of the Champlain Soc., p. 396.] A study of this vocabulary tends to show that this is an oversimplification. Much is not diagnostic in a linguistic sense; some words might be Cree, Montagnais, Algonkin (-Ojibwa), such as *mokeman*, knives (really singular), *metus*, stockings (really singular), *eskon*, a chisel; *Tinesonec.iso*, what do you call this ("what is it called") *Manitowghigin*, a Red-Coat, might be Cree, Algonkin or Ojibwa (I lack a Montagnais cognate); *mekish*, beads (really singular) might be Cree, Algonkin, or Ojibwa: the phonology definitely excludes it from being Montagnais; some words might be Cree or Montagnais, e. g., *assinne*, shot (phonology decisive), *astam*, come hither (shown by phonetics; also a lexical trait), *apit*, a fire-steel (lexical trait), *a notch*, presently (lexical trait), *pishshish*, a little thing (lexical trait), *petta a shum.e.* give me a piece ("hand and give me to eat;" phonology and morphology decisive), *Pe quish a con Gau Mowon*, I eat some pudding ("I shall eat bread;" possibly Algonkin and Ojibwa also), *Spog.m* a pipe (corruption of Cree *uspwāgan* or the Montagnais equivalent; the phonology bars it from being Algonkin or Ojibwa), *Taney*, where (corrupt; pretty clearly only Cree or Montagnais), *Tapoy*, that true (the phonology bars Algonkin-Ojibwa); definitely Cree are *chickahigon*, a hatchet (lexical trait), *pickow*, powder (the phonology is decisive), *No mun-niss e to ta*, I do not understand you (corrupt; the meaning is rather, I do not understand it; the phonology strongly favors Cree and nothing else), *owma*, this (lexical trait), *pihickeman*, a jack-knife (read *Pikickeman*; it can not be Montagnais; Ojibwa and Algonkin have a compound which ends in an equivalent), *Shekahoon*, a comb (Cree rather than Montagnais because of the phonology). Clearly Montagnais (and not Cree) as shown by the phonology are *pastosigon*, a gun, and *stenna*, tobacco (read stema). *Tequan*, What do you say? is either Cree, in which case *Kequan* should be read, or a mishearing for *Tchequan*, in which case the word is Montagnais. *Moustodawbish*, a flint, seems corrupt; the terminal portion doubtless should be *-awbisk*. Algonkin (-Ojibwa) are *arakana*, bread (read *arakona;* it will be recalled there was an *r*-dialect Algonkin; the phonology favors Algonkin as opposed to Cree), *Arremitigosy*, to speak (lexical trait), *mickedy*, powder (the phonology is decisive). [*Soth.im.m.* red lead, is unclear to me.]. It will be recalled that the Abitibi came down to the Bay at the time. I interpret the whole to mean that owing to the establishment of the post at Rupert's House different Indians came there to trade, just as at the present time besides the Moose Indians at Moose Factory, the Rupert's House Montagnais-speaking Indians, or rather a group of them, Ojibwa from the Albany River, etc., come there also; and that the data do not necessarily warrant us in holding that the geographical boundary between the Cree and Montagnais has shifted within historic times, though this is possible.

[4] Compare Henry, loc. cit., p. 319 "*Churchill River . . .* it was named *English River;*" Daniel W. Harmon, A journal of voyages and travels, etc., Andover, 1820, pp. 167, 168: "The River last mentioned, is called by the Hudson Bay People, Churchill River, and by the people from Canada, English River;" notice that on the map facing p. 223 of Henry Youle Hind's, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1855, vol. II, London, 1860, we find "Churchill or English River"; English River in the sense of Churchill River is still used in E. A. Watkins, A Dictionary of the Cree Language, etc., London, 1865 (p. x). See also Sir John Richardson, An Arctic Searching Expedition, vol. I, (map facing) p. 16; vol. II, pp. 36, 37, London, 1851. Lacombe on the map in his Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris, Montreal, 1874, has only R. Churchill. Hunter, A Lecture on . . . the Cree Language, London, 1875, p. 2, has English River. See too Joseph Howse, A Grammar of the Cree Language, etc., London, 1844, p. 141 et passim, especially p. 318. The same author, loc. cit., p. 316, observed very acutely, "On the East-main side of Hudson's Bay, (*t*)*ch* is in general use . . . instead of the *k* (or *c* hard) used on the West-side of the Bay." Of course, the (*t*)*ch* dialects are really Montagnais-Naskapi. When Cree words are cited as being at Cumberland House, as has happened, with *th* and not *n* as at present, I do not think that this means that a shift of population has taken place; but rather, that the interpreter or informant really was not native to Cumberland House. According to Mgr. Taché, Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amerique, Montreal, 1869, p. 82, some Crees at Isle à la Crosse speak an *l*-, not *r*-dialect. No subsequent writers, as far as I know, have repeated or substantiated this. When Lacombe says, loc. cit., p. xv, "Cris du Labrador . . . nila-kila-wila", this really means the Cree of Moose Factory or less probably the special Tête de Boule dialect with *l*.

[5] For Cumberland and Norway House Indians, see also Hunter, loc. cit.

[6] See JAFL 41, pp. 164, 165. For Cree influence note *mistatimōn* horses, *nicwastu* seven. Incidentally, though Skinner applies the term Bungees [Bungis] to the Plains Ojibwa (see also JAFL 29, p. 330), previously it was applied to the Indians of the general region between Norway House and York Factory: see Sims, JAFL 19, pp. 330, 334 ("Bungees or Swampy Indians of Lake Winnepeg"); see too Hind, Narr. of the Canadian Red River Expl. Exp. 1857, etc., vol. I, p. 333; and J. Stewart in Am. Arch. Rept. Ontario, 1904, Toronto, 1905, p. 89. The linguistic mixture is in part supported by the new data from Island Lake; but a thoroughgoing mixture of Cree and Ojibwa for the whole area is out of the question.

[7] The paper "Montagnais-Naskapi Bands, etc." by Speck in AA, n. s. 33 [1931], pp. 557–600, with the accompanying map, is valuable as showing the distributions of the bands. Part of this area was investigated by Speck himself, but partially he relied upon information furnished by Alexandre Bellefleure and Sylvestre Mackenzie: see p. 574 and also his Naskapi [1935], p. 84 et passim. On p. 580 of "Montagnais-Naskapi Bands etc." we are told that the native names of twenty-six bands are given. On p. 584 it is stated that the St. Marguerite Band is the farthest east on the coast to speak an *l*-dialect. Evidently there were misunderstandings of some sort, for contradictions occur as shown by the "native names" on pp. 584, 585, 586. Very fortunately many of the statements can be checked by data contained in "Naskapi"; and since this appeared two years later than the article in AA, we may legitimately infer that where the data is contradictory the data in AA is to be superseded, and where data in "Naskapi" confirms the statements in AA these are to be regarded as Speck's final opinions. Thus, the statements on Escoumains and Shelter Bay, AA, n. s. 33, pp. 581, 583, 584 are confirmed by data in "Naskapi," pp. 64, 100, 175. The contradictory data on Natashquan ("Naskapi," p. 99) is confirmed by my own data (*n*-dialect; terminal *-tc* [*-ts*] converted into *-t* (per contra *Notackwánwilnut*ʻ, AA, n. s. 33, p. 586). That Michigamau is an *n*-dialect, A. A., loc. cit., p. 589, is confirmed by the data on p. 177 of "Naskapi," but I am unconvinced that *-ts*ʻ remains. That Mingan is an *n*-dialect (essentially, if not wholly) is shown by my own data which confirms the statement on p. 584 of AA., loc. cit.; my data makes it a dialect in which *-tc* (*-ts*) becomes *-t*; against both these points note on p. 585, "*Mingan Band (Akwandi'wilnuts*ʻ, *where something is washed ashore people.)*" The data on Musquaro, pp. 586, 587 is somewhat contradictory, but it is given in any event as an *l*-dialect; personally I think it much more likely to be an *n*- and *-t* dialect. The data on Kaniapiskau, p. 590 (*-t*ʻ dialect) is against the data I have presented above. That Ungava, p. 594 of AA, loc. cit., is an *l*-dialect is against the data from Turner and statements made to me by a Davis Inlet Indian whom I met at the Northwest River. I wonder if most of the contradictions may not be explained the following way: besides the Sylvestre Mackenzie, chief of the Michigamau band according to Speck, there is another Sylvestre Mackenzie at Moisie who often goes with the mail to Fort Mackenzie; he uses the *l*-dialect and retains final *-ts* (so too Bastian Mackenzie at Seven Islands who has been at Fort Mackenzie); if he, and not the Sylvestre Mackenzie of Michigamau, furnished some of the "native" names in his own dialect (or "colored" the native names with his own dialect), much would be explained. Sylvestre Mackenzie of Moisie came from Bersimis (Bastian also, I think) but has been at Moisie for 50 years. Similarly if Alexandre Bellefleure really is of the Seven Islands group and not the Ungava one, his designation of the Ungava band might easily be

in the Seven Islands dialect; or if John Pierre of the Ungava band but married and living at Seven Islands gave the information it is possible the designation given is really in the Seven Islands group's dialect. The data in Cabot's In Northern Labrador means nothing unless the exact provenience of his interpreters and informants is known: the data on p. 286 makes both Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi exist east of the George or Barren Ground River: Compare Speck, Naskapi, p. 56. Mrs. Hubbard's designation of the Barren Ground band (A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador, New York, 1908, p. 158), Mush-a-waue-u-its, is not in the native dialect, but in the dialect of Rupert's House; compare pp. 20, 150. [Nor is the designation by Cabot, loc. cit., p. 198, the native one.] Similarly the Indian song recorded by D. Wallace, The Long Labrador Trail, New York, 1907, p. 73, is not in the native dialect: see pp. 16, 119 ("Pete" came from the neighborhood of Lake Superior). The statements of Indians as to the linguistic affiliations of other bands than their own, even when they have met them, must be taken with a grain of salt. Thus, Bastian Mackenzie, who has met Great Whale River Indians, Chimo Indians, those of Mingan, etc., says the Great Whale River Indians are Crees and say *tcila*' "thou" (neither of which is true), Chimo Indians *tcina*' (which I think is true from other data, disregarding vowel-quantities, as also further on), Lake St. John *tcíla*' (my own material lacks the final *a*'), Bersimis *tcíl* (true), Seven Islands *tcíl* (partially true), Mingan *tcín* (true), Mingan *nāpeut*' "men" (true), Moisie, Seven Islands, St. Marguerite *nā'peuts.* Bastian and Sylvestre Mackenzie are the only ones of the area that I met who consistently retained *-ts* (*-tc*) and did not change it to *-t; -ts* is retained at Bersimis.

[8] Cooper, CUA, Anthrop. Ser. 2, p. 60, says, "From the linguistic data given by Le Jeune, we have good grounds for concluding that some at least of these "Montagnais" were Cree-speaking, using an *r* dialect, etc." I regret to say that a do not think the evidence warrants us in making this supposition. It should be pointed out that Le Jeune gives *one whole sentence* which though supposedly in Montagnais, actually is in Algonkin (*kaie, nir, khigatoutaouim,* which furthermore is mistranslated, for the second person plural is the subject). It can be proved that Montagnais orthography at times has influenced that of Algonkin. Presumably the reverse has also happened. Note too, in the Jesuit Relations one personal name given as Algonkin actually is Montagnais (*Michtaemikoüan* "Great Spoon"). For the value of *khi,* see the Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 10, p. 117. To account for both Algonkin (which has only primary *tc*) and Montagnais (which has not only primary but also secondary *tc*) *khi* must have the value of *tc.* Note *θmamiθetch* (name of a people) Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 59, p. 56 but also *θmamiθekhi* at 21, p. 116; *θmamiθek* at 35, p. 274, either has *k* for *kh*(*i*) [see below] or the word is really the Algonkin designation of the same people. [The etymology given by Gerard, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., under Oumamiwek is on the right track, but Montagnais or Algonkin should be substituted for Cree.] In some other tribal names we have a similar situation. Especially noteworthy is Montagnais *Khichtemau* "petun" ("tobacco"), Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, vol. 7, pp. 24, 26 (1634) [ed. Quebec, 1858, vol. I, 1634, p. 49] recorded as *tshistemau* by Lemoine; Naskapi *tc'stemáu, tc'stemáu* is given by Speck, Naskapi, pp. 218, 241; Mingan *tci'stemau'* and Fort George *tcistāmau'*, Rupert's House ^{tci}*stēmau'* are recorded by Michelson. This has primary, not secondary, *tc* as shown by Cree *tcistēmāw* (Michelson; *tsistämāw* in Bloomfield's transcription; Lacombe gives *tchistemaw*), Menomini *ne'nemāw*, Fox *ne'sämāwa*, the Proto-Algonquian archetype of which is **θce'θämāwa* as shown by Bloomfield in his remarkable paper on Central Algonquian phonology, Language, vol. I.

[Watkins, A Dictionary of the Cree Language, London, 1865, gives *chistāmow*, i. e., *tcistēmāw*, but says "See *Kistāmow*." I know no Cree dialect in which this last occurs; and Bloomfield writes me under the date of May 17, 1937, that his Cree notes contain no variants of *tsistämāw;* nor do I know any Montagnais-Naskapi dialect with *kistēmāw;* I wonder if *kistāmow* is not pseudo-correct Cree (cf. pp. xi, 201 of Watkins' Dictionary).] Beside *kh*(*i*) with the value of *tc*, *tch*(*i*) is used with the same value, also *ts*, *tz*, *ch* (rarely), *th*, *k*(*i*), *dk*, *t* (with certainty at least twice; perhaps more often). I have cited *θmamiθetch* "qui sont une nation des eskimeaux" (which is false; this is not in Bull. 30, Pt. 2 in the synonymy under *Oumamiwek*, nor in the synonymy at the end of the volume; the etymology given by Gerard is correct [Cree māmihk, Algonkin māmiñg, Montagnais (Lemoine) *mamits* "downstream"] but the Montagnais word should probably be restored as **māmiwᴀtc;* note the variants *θmamiθckhi* and *θmamiwek* of the Quebec edition for 1641, p. 57, 1650, p. 41 respectively. Other examples are *espimimitch* upward (Jesuit Relations, ed. Thwaites, 49, p. 66; ed. Quebec, III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 19), Montagnais *ishpimits* (Lemoine), Rupert's House *icpimihtc*, Cree *ispimihk*, Ojibwa *icpimiñg*, Fox *ᴀ'pemegi*, Proto-Algonquian **icpemeñki; Mitchitiou* eagle (part of a personal name; JR. T. 59, p. 63; the *ti* here means *s* or *c* as proved by *pepakθnagθtieθ*, JR. T. 59, p. 62, "celuy qui paroit tousiours malade"; Lemoine *-nākushu*, Cree *-nākusiw*), Montagnais *metshishu* (Lemoine), Fort George *mi'ticu'* Michelson; dissimilation for *mitcicu*), Cree *mikisiw; tchise* "big" in *takθatchisenapeθ* "the little big man" (JR. T. 59, p. 62), Montagnais *tshishe* "big, great" (Lemoine; *nāpẹu* "man," *takuau* "it is short"), Cree *kisē-; Noutakatanimieouetch* "my father they will pray" (see JR. T. 49, p. 62 JR. Q. III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 18) should be divided *Nouta ka-;* Fox *wᴀgi*, Plains Cree *kata ayamihāwak*, Lemoine's Montagnais *īmieuts, aiamiauts* (see his Dict. under Prier); without doubt *Tchigigoutchéou* the god of fine and of bad weather (JR. T. 68, p. 43) is a corrupt plural and stands for *Tchichigouétch*, identical with *khichikouckhi* (JR. T. 11, p. 254 JR. Q. I, 1637, p. 46; Khichicouai, *passim* apparently is an obviative plural) which corresponds exactly to Speck's *tci''cəgwəts* (Naskapi, p. 62); compare also *Ka-Khichigou Khetikhi* ceux qui font le jour (JR. T. 11, p. 254-JR. Q. I, 1637, p. 46); Lemoine *tshījikau* "jour"; Plains Cree *kīsikāw;* for the last word see Lemoine under Faire; *aitin*, *aitu* combined with *ka-* according to the paradigm of *nt'ilinishin* je suis sage, *ilinishu* il est sage (Lemoine, Grammaire Montagnaise, pp. 20–22) should be **kaaitits* (uncontracted) in the third person pl. animate of the participle; but this is rather peculiar; *oui miriatchi* si tu nous veux donner [si tu no^9 veux dõner] (JR. T. 7, pp. 154, 156; JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 76, Montagnais *uimiliiats* in Lemoine's transcription, is another example. The word *michoutchi* "en contrechãge" on p. 154 of JR. T. 7, in Le Jeune's normal transcription should be **michcoutch* or **michcoukhi*, in Lemoine's *mishkuts*, but the word happens to be absent from his Dictionnaire: see, however, Echange and Echanger which prove the word genuine and moreover Watkins cites Cree *meskooch* and this seems to be supported by the evidence of Ojibwa and Algonkin (Lacombe cites Cree *meskutch* which is difficult, for W's *e* is *ī*, L's *e* is *ē*). *Attikīrinouetchs* on Bellin's map of 1755 has a native plural with added French *-s*, and corresponds to *Attikou Irinioueтz* on La Tour's map of 1779, phonetically presumably **ᴀtihkwiliniwᴀtc* "Caribou men." *Tan tché tchichikamasθianc* [probable misprint for *-yane*] *egθ* "How then can I pay for myself" (JR. T. 68, pp. 62, 63) presumably stands for *tān tē tcīhkᴀmāsuyān;* see Lemoine Dict. Mont. Tshijikāshun, etc., under Payer, Lemoine, Dict. Algonquin, *kîjîkan*, *kîjîkâs*, *kîjîkamawanis* under Payer; see also Baraga, Dict. Otchipwe, II, *Kijikan* etc. I pay my debt, *Kijikas* etc. I clear myself of debts, *Kijikawa*, etc. I pay him my debt. Some other cases of *tch* are more conveniently discussed in connection with some other variants. Some examples of *-ts* for the same sound as *-tch* (or presumably; for in the Bersimis dialect *-ts* does occur) are *Manitousiuets* sorciers ou iongleurs, JR. T. 6, p. 124 (1634) but *Manitousiouekhi*, JR. T. 8, p. 273 (1636), the Proto-Algonquian archetype of which is **manetōwesiwaki* but it must not be imagined that in any Cree or Montagnais-Naskapi dialect the original final **i* of the animate plural, etc., actually survived for it did not; *Atticameocts, Attikoetz, Attikamegouekhi*, etc. (the name of a Montagnais people; see Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 1 under *Attikamegue*, the index to Thwaites' ed. of the Jesuit Relations and that of the Quebec edition; cf. *Attikamégou*, the personal name of a Montagnais, JR. T. 9, p. 72; the presumable phonetic restoration is **ᴀmēkwᴀtikhᴀtc* "The Caribou-Fish People," i. e., "White Fish People"; *Ouchestigouets* (*Ouchestigouetch* etc.), the designation of a Montagnais people will be discussed below. Examples of where *ch* has the value of *tc* and which are not numerous are *naspich* "entieremēt," etc., several times on pp. 154, 156 of JR. T. 7: this has primary *tc* as shown by Cree *nāspitc;* in most Montagnais dialects Michelson has recorded *nāspitc* (but *nāspit'* at Mingan); Lemoine gives *nāshpits;* the locative *iscouechich* d'vne fille (JR. T. 7, p. 154 is *ishkueshits* in Lemoine's transcription (presumably phonemically *iskwēsihtc*): notice the locative *ouascoukhi* which in Lemoine's transcription is *uashkuts* "en ciel", on the same page. The word *outagouchi* hier (JR. T. 7, p. 24-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49) is an haplology or haplography, presumably the latter: Lemoine gives *utākushīts;* I have recorded Rupert's House *utā'kucihtc;* Plains Cree *utākusihk* (restored from Horden's *otakosi'k*, Watkins' *ootakoose'k*, Lacombe's *otâkusik*). Another example of a locative in *-khi* is *Ouabichtigoueiakhi* . . . Kebec, JR. T. 7, p. 204 (JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 86): Lemoine gives Montagnais *uāpishtukeiats*, and in his Dict. Alg. gives the equivalent, *Webitikweiang*. So the locative termination is firmly established. The spelling *dk* with the value *tc* is wholly isolated: *nisadkihau* ie l'ayme (JR. T. 8, p. 36-JR. Q. I, 1635, ch. III, p. 18) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nishatshiau* [Plains Cree *nisākihāw*]; observe Montagnais *khisakhitan* [tu aimes cela], JR. T. 6, p. 238-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. V, p. 29 [Plains Cree *kisākihtān*] which is *tshi shatshtan* in Lemoine's transcription; so too on the same page note *sakhita* "aime le" which in Lemoine's transcription is *shatshita*. It is important to here note that the orthography of Algonkin in the Jesuit Relations reflects that of Montagnais at times. So we have the Algonkin sentence *napik nisadkiha missi kakichitdtz* . . . entirement i 'ayme celui qui a tout fait (JR. T. 29, p. 88-JR. Q. II, 1648, ch. V, p. 23) which is an old misreading or misprint for . . . *kakichitθtz* as shown by the variant *missi kakichitθtch* celui qui fait tout (JR. T. 24, p. 40). In Lemoine's transcription the Algonkin sentence is *nâpitc nisakiha misi kakijitotc*. The word *napik* will be treated below. That *th* was used with the value of *tc* is convincingly shown by the Algonkin variants *ninithanisak* mes enfants, *Ninitchanis* mon enfant (JR. T. 24, 1642–43, p. 40) which in Lemoine's transcription are *ninidjânisak ninidjânis* respectively (Fox *nenīdtcāne'sᴀgi, nenīdtcāne'sᴀ*). The variants of Montagnais show the same. Thus we have *attimoueth* [chīens] at JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49 but *nama irinisonakhi* [mislection or misprint for **irinisouakhi;* the singular *irinisiou* occurs at JR. T. 6, p. 246-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. VI, p. 31) *attimouekhi* les chiens n' ont point d'esprit, JR. T. 5, p. 138-JR. Q. I, 1633, p. 13. Again, ie vois des hōmes *niouapamaoueth irinioueth* (JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49) which in Lemoine's transcription (in a clearly little different dialect) is *ni uāpamauts ilnūts* (Moose Cree *niwāpamāwak iliiwak* phonemically; Fox *newāpᴀmāwᴀgi neniwᴀgi*): note the variant *irinioua khi* at JR. T. 7, p. 156-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XIII, p. 76. Observe also *ninoutinaoueth* (I strike them) at JR. T. 7, p. 22-JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XI, p. 49 which contains the same pronominal elements as above; I do not recall a Montagnais equivalent in my own notes, but Cree guarantees the word.

Another example is *Achitescatoueth* . . . ils passent mutuellement a la place l'vn de l'autre (JR. T. 6, p. 163; JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. IV, p. 14). I do not know the modern Montagnais equivalent but terminally it clearly corresponds to Lemoine's *-tuts* (Cree *-tuwak*). Examples where *t* is used for the sound in question (*tc*) with certainty are *eca titou*, *eca titou* (JR. T. 7, p. 62) tais toy, tais toy (in Lemoine's transcription this is *eka tshitu*, (Cree ēkā kitu) and ***mitisoukou*** mangez, JR. T. 7, p. 176 (with primary *tc;* see ***mitshun*** in Lemoine's Dict. Mont. under Manger; Cree *mītcisuk*; Fox *mī*^{d}*tcieat*). Note that in Algonkin *ti* is used with the value *tc* in *cakθsitiik* les malade, JR. T. 24 (1642–43), p. 42 which is again reminiscent of Montagnais orthography. Thus it is that it is very difficult to judge words such as *asti* "Terre" (JR. T. 7, p. 154-JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 75). For in Montagnais-Naskapi dialects there is considerable difference in the treatment of *-sk-* before palatal vowels. In the *l*-dialects, and "mixed" *n*-dialects the combination appears as *-ss-*, in the *y*-dialects as *stc* (*-ctc-*) save where dissimilation is obvious. Thus Cree *askiy* (in Bloomfield's transcription), Lemoine's Montagnais *assi* (*l*-dialect), Bersimis (Michelson) *essī*, Seven Islands (Michelson) *assī'* (mixed *n*-dialect), Rupert's House (Michelson) *astcī'*, Fort George (Michelson) *astci'*, Mistassini *asịts'i* (in which *s* is intermediate between *s* and *c*). But at Natashquan (unmixed *n*-dialect) I have recorded *asti*, *ahtcī':* the latter is certainly in accord with the same type of phonology seen in ***tci'htēmau'*** "tobacco," ***uhka't'*** "his leg," *u'hpitun'* "the fore arm," *mihta'peu* "giant," *mahtcčhu'* "fox", *ihkwẹ'u* "woman", *u'hpwāgan* "pipe," *Mi'hti na*^{h}*k*^{w} "master of the fish" (according to a Mingan informant speaking somewhat mixed the correspondent is *Mictināhk*^{w}, Great Whale River *Mistcināhk*^{u}, Mistassini *Mictsina'kω*, St. Marguerite *məsəna'k*^{w} [see Speck, Naskapi, pp. 117–119, 239], Plains Cree *miskināhk* "tortoise'; Lemoine ***messināk*** "Tortue"; Watkins gives Cree *mi'kina'k*, an obvious Ojibwa loan-word; he also gives *mistina'k:* yet I know no Cree dialect in which this occurs; Watkins once was on the east side of James Bay, and I wonder if he may not have picked up the word there). Moreover, the Montagnais personal name *θestchinisi casθ* (JR. T. 59, pp. 60, 61: here *-s-* must indicate *-tc-; θ* is used with the value *w*, etc.) "pretends to be young" (more accurately, "he pretends to be a young man") shows definitely that the Jesuits of early times were acquainted with a dialect in which *-sk-* before a palatal vowel became *-stc-;* the form is a participle-like noun showing what is technically called "change:" note Lemoine gives *ussinītshu* under Jeune, Rupert's House (Michelson) ^{u}*stcinītcu'* "young man", Plains Cree *uskinīkiw;* Cree *-hkāsōw* "he, she pretends." Therefore in spite of the fact that Le Jeune gives ***nama nikhirassin*** ie ne mens pas (JR. T. 7, p. 56; Moose Cree *ēkīlāskitcik* "when they lie", Plains Cree *nama nikiyāskin;* though Watkins gives *kinaskew* "he tells lies" it is not Plains Cree; cognates exist in Algonkin and Ojibwa; Lemoine cites a cognate Montagnais which has not the suffix of Le Jeune's word) it is fair to consider his *khikhisteriten* "tu sçais" (JR. T. 7, p. 154 JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 76) as being due to dissimilation: compare Rupert's House ^{ts}*istē*^{i}*htam* "he knows it," *nitsi'stēmau* "I know him," Fort George ***ntcistcai'mau*** "I know him," Natashquan ***tci'htēntam'*** "he knows it," ***ntci'htēntēn*** "I know it," Lemoine ***tshissēlitam*** "he knows it," Moose Cree *kikiskēlihtēn* "you (sing.) know it," *nikiskēlihtēn* "I know it," *kiskēlihtam* "he knows it," *nikiskēlimāw* "I know him." We have then clear evidence of at least two Montagnais dialects being used by Le Jeune. Notice he also says (*JR.* T. 7, p. 30), "ils n'ont point les letters *F*, *L*, *V*, consonante, *X.Z.* ils prononce vn *R au* lieu d'vn *L*. ils diront Monsieur du Pressi pour Monsieur du Plessi, ils prononcent vn *P* au lieu d'vn *V*. consonante, Monsieur Olipier pour Monsieur Oliuier." It may be that the *l* was not quite English *l* and so recorded *r*. We come now to a point which is vital as to whether or not some of the "Montagnais" were really Cree, using an *r*-dialect (Tête de Boule). We have seen that at least two dialects were confused; and we have noted variations in orthography. We have observed that one whole sentence instead of being Montagnais is Algonkin. The reciprocal orthographic influence of Montagnais and Algonkin on each other has been pointed out. The question now at stake is as to whether *k*(*i*) ever was used graphically for *tc*. That this must be answered affirmatively is shown by Algonkin *napik* "entirement" (JR. T. 29, p. 88) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nāpitc* (see Dict. Alg. under Tout) which has primary final *tc* as shown by Cree *nāspitc:* see above. Now *nama khitirinisin* tu n' as point d'esprit occurs on p. 62 of JR. T. 7 (JR. Q. I, 1634, ch. XII, p. 57) which in Lemoine's transcription is *nama tshitilinīshin* (see his Dict. Mont. under Sage; cf. Plains Cree *iyinīsiw* "he is wise," *kitiyinīsin* "thou art wise." [That Plains Cree replaces original *l* by *y* is a matter of common knowledge.] Contrast this with *Nigousai kesta kitirinissin* (JR. T. 49, p. 66-JR. Q. III, 1664, ch. IV, p. 19), mistranslated "mon fils, tu n'as pas d'esprit." Observe the word *espimitch* ("upward") which is diagnostically nothing but Montagnais-Naskapi immediately follows: note Lemoine *ishpimits*, Rupert's House *icpimihtc*, Cree *ispimihk*, Ojibwa *icpimiñg*, Fox *ᴀ'pemegi.* [I have said mistranslated because as far as I know there is nothing like *kesta* "ne . . . pas" in any Algonquian language. If *k* has the value *tc* it may be taken as the equivalent of Lemoine's *tshista;* see his Dic. Mont. under *Même;* the sense then is, "thou also art wise." En passant, Le Jeune made a bad break in Montagnais grammar by employing the first person pl. inclusive where the exclusive form was in order; see JR. T. 8, pp. 264, 265. On the value of *kh*(*i*) see above.] Observe also the careless writing of *-k-* for *-kh-* in *khikirassin* "tu as menty" by Le Jeune (JR. T. 7, p. 166-JR. Q. I, 1634, p. 78) but *nama nikhirassin* "ie ne mens pas" (see a little above) in both of which *-ss-* is diagnostically Montagnais: if *k* or *kh* here meant *k* we would then have a word half Cree and half Montagnais. Knowledge that *k* before palatal vowels regularly becomes *tc* in Montagnais-Naskapi even if such vowels are subsequently lost, is taken for granted. And Le Jeune gives Montagnais *nikhispoun* (ie suis saol), JR. T. 6, p. 250, though he previously gave Montagnais *nikispoun*, JR. T. 5, p. 94 (Lemoine gives [*ni*] *tshishpūn;* Watkins gives Cree *kespoo* he is full of food; Fox *kī'pu-*). Again, according to the index to Thwaites ed. of the Jesuit Relations *Kiaskou* (JR. T. 56, p. 190-JR. J. III, 1672, ch. VI, p. 51) is the name of an Algonkin chief, meaning "gull." Linguistically this word can not be Algonkin (a similar error is *Michtacmikoüan* "Great Spoon": see above): note Algonkin *gaiack* (Lemoine), Ojibwa *gaiashk* (Baraga), *mici-kayăck* "Great Gull" (Jones; the pl. *kayăckwạg* occurs in J's Ojibwa Texts II. 178.8), Cree *keyask* (Watkins), *kiyâsk* (Lacombe), Wenusk Cree *kīyāsk* (Michelson), Montagnais *tshiashk* (Lemoine), Fort George *tcī'ᴀsk*^{u}. The phonology certainly terminally favors Montagnais as opposed to most Cree dialects. However, the treatment of original **-wa* after consonants in Tête de Boule Cree, as I know from the manuscripts of the Rev. Dr. Cooper who most kindly has allowed me to make use of them, is most complex; sometimes it is lost as in other Cree dialects, sometimes it appears as -^{wa}, sometimes as -^{u} which recalls Montagnais usage; unfortunately the Tête de Boule correspondent to ordinary Cree *kīyāsk* apparently is not in his manuscripts. Now as I have said previously, from a study of Dr. James Geary's recent manuscript it is clear there are some Cree (presumably Tête de Boule) loan words in modern Algonkin (I here thank him for his generosity for permission to use it); so conceivably the name might be in one dialect but the person designated a speaker of another. A parallel is the name Winneshiek, a Winnebago: the name patently is Algonquian (Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo in particular; the three are closely related). Hence a decision free from all uncertainty can not be made. Different is the case of *nitichenicassouiniki* "en mon nom" (JR. T. 7, p. 154) for the locative *ouascoukhi* "au ciel" occurs on the preceding line (Le Jeune, JR. T. 8, p. 40, gives the locative *ouakoucki* which must mean *-tc* as shown by *nisadkihau* on the same page as well as the plural *ouperigoue ouaouokhi;* all said by the convert Anne). And the truly Montagnais character of Le Jeune's prayer in which *nitichenicassouiniki* occurs can not be doubted. The vocalism of the suffix (*-ouin*) differs from that of Lemoine's Montagnais and I have no means of knowing whether any Montagnais-Naskapi did or does agree with Le Jeune's Montagnais in this respect as opposed to Lemoine's *ijinikāshun.* In view of the undoubted orthographic reciprocal influence of Montagnais and Algonkin, it is barely possible that Algonkin influence is to be seen in this. Good examples of Montagnais orthographic influence on Algonkin *khikθsis* vostre fils (JR. T. 24, p. 40) and *Khigatoutaouim* mentioned above, for *k* is normally retained before *i* in the Algonkin of the Jesuit Relations, and it is impossible that *kh* in these two particular cases was pronounced as *tc*. [On the same page as *khikθsis* will be found *nikachtipitagan* mon sac a Petun; this is a misprint or mishearing for *nikachki-*.] In view of the fact that at times in ancient documents alleged "native" names of peoples are not "native" names (I regret to say that even modern enthnologists have at times committed similar errors) it is extremely difficult to judge the orthography of some names of peoples. Thus though *Ouchestigouetch*, *Ouchestiguetch*, *Ouchestigouets* are patently Montagnais in orthography (the singular *θtchisestigθ* [JR. T. 59, p. 60], patently Montagnais, is not in Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; the expected plural would be *θtchisestigθetch apparently does not occur) and *Ouchestigoüek* presumably so because of medial *-ch-* and *-k* with the value *tc* as above, *Oukesestigouek* is not so clear: for this orthography would coincide with Cree (*-st-* bar Algonkin) if both *k's* have the value of *k;* or have we partial Algonkin orthography? That the people were Montagnais here is not in question; but if *Oukesestigouek* is the Cree denomination, then active acquaintance with Tête de Boule must be assumed. Again, should both *k's* be taken as standing for *tc?* [For these names and other synonyms see the synonomy at the end of the article *Oukesestigouek*, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2; the reference to JR. Q. 1855, 1665, 5 should be corrected to 1665, 15; the etymology proposed by Gerard is on the right track but Montagnais *utcisīstik^u,* *utcisīstigwʌtc* rather than Cree forms must be at the bases of some of the variants. Consult also the indices to Thwaites' ed. of the Jesuit Relations and the Quebec ed. of 1858.] From the variants (plurals) *Attkameguekhi*, *Atticameoets*, as well as *Attikamégou*, the personal name of a Montagnais, JR. T. 9, p. 72, which in form is Montagnais rather than Cree, the people are definitely Montagnais; it is only a question of how the *k* of *Attikamegouek* should be interpreted. As long as we have the variation *kh k* with the value of *tc* in other words, as shown above, there is no reason why this may not also be one. Yet this particular form orthographically would coincide with not only Cree but Algonkin. Similarly *Oupapinachiouek* and *θpapinachiθekhi*, *Oumamiwek*, *θmamiθek* and *θmamiθekhi;* etc. (See the various indices and various articles in Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., for the exact passages in which these are to be found.) If I understand Dr. Cooper rightly, his position is that though *kh*(*i*) sometimes has the value *tc*, this is not invariably the case. The fact that Tête de Boule is a Cree *r*-dialect also has influenced him.

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Sedelmayr's Relacion of 1746

Translated and edited by
RONALD L. IVES

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746 is a valuable summary of explorations in Pimería from about 1690 to 1746. Its value to the historian is obvious, for, although parts of it have been duplicated by other workers, and much of Sedelmayr's exploration was actually reexploration, the impressions and observations recorded by Sedelmayr will help to fill the hiatuses in other accounts.

To the anthropologist, the geologist, and the student of Indian legends this narrative should prove of great value, for it covers much of the period between the work of Kino and his contemporaries and that of the Anza expeditions. The migrations of the Indian groups, the progress of the mining industry, and the changes in the various legends can be more accurately followed by the use of Sedelmayr's observations.

In several cases, alternative translations, having different meanings, are possible. In this translation the meaning most nearly fitting into the context was used. In a few cases it was necessary to make use of maps, other accounts, and modern field data to obtain the probable meaning.

This translation, made for the purpose of securing information, is probably not a contribution to literature. The translator was more concerned with what happened, and who did it, than with securing the smoothest wording.

Obvious references in agreement with generally available translations[1] have been omitted from the footnotes. Complete notes, references, and discussion of this narrative would comprise a history of Pimería Alta from 1690 to 1746, with some references to more recent occurrences. Only notes that will clarify the narrative are included with it.[2] Suggestions, assistance, and criticism have been generously given by a number of workers. Responsibility for errors in this work is assumed by the translator. Special mention is due Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, who, using references unavailable to the writer, secured translations of several troublesome Nahuatlan terms in this narrative.

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[1] Obvious references to the following generally available works and translations have been omitted: H. E. Bolton: Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta; Anza's California Expeditions. Eusebio Guiteras: Rudo Ensayo. C. E. Chapman: The Founding of Spanish California. H. H. Bancroft: North Mexican States and Texas; Arizona and New Mexico. G. P. Winship: The Coronado Expedition. Elliott Coues: On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer. The maps included in Anza's California Expeditions will be found useful in locating the places described and referred to by Sedelmayr.

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[2] The Spanish version of this relación from which the translation was made is contained in "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," series 3, vol. 1, part II. Mexico—not dated.

RELACIÓN MADE BY PADRE JACOBO SEDELMAYR, OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, MISSIONARY AT TUBUTAMA, ON A VISIT TO MEXICO CITY IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, IN THE YEAR 1746, TO SOLICIT WORKERS FOR THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS ON THE GILA AND COLORADO RIVERS, DISCOVERED ON TWO JOURNEYS WHICH HE MADE TO THE GENTILE TRIBES TO THE NORTH OF HIS MISSION, ETC.

Before beginning the account of the lands, rivers, and nations of gentiles, whose conversion I seek, it will be desirable for me to say a few words about the Pimería Alta which is adjacent to the discoveries, and where were and are the missionary fathers who have visited the discovered lands.

The light of the Holy Faith first dawned upon the Indians of Pimería Alta through the medium of Padre Eusebio Kino, a native of Trent and a son of the Company of Jesus in Bavaria. After spending 18 months in California in the company of the Admiral D. Isidro de Otondo y Antillan as cosmographer for his Majesty Charles II and superior over two or three fathers who went with the fleet, the enterprise of the settlement of the island was deferred. Following the orders of his superiors, he went to the new fields of Pimería, to which work he devoted himself promptly, because of his zeal and his desire to work in a mission for gentiles. He also hoped to ascertain whether there was a land passage to California from Pimería in order to undertake its conversion with the help of the padres of Sonora.

He entered Pimería Alta on the 13th of March, 1687. With the help of the Indian named Coxi, and baptized D. Carlos, in honor of King Charles II of holy memory, a native of the town of Dolores with a following in the neighboring rancherias, he began his travels among the Pimas, carrying to them the light of the Holy Faith, explained by means of dependable interpreters, whom his reverence brought from the mission of Ures in lower Pimería, during the time when he was mastering their language.

The suavity and good grace of the padre, together with various little gifts, together with the divine dispensation which had already opened the gates of heaven to these unfortunates, began to make an impression on their hearts, which were free from idolatry, and not submerged in the vices of other nations.[3] The seed of the Holy Faith found a place in their hearts, and they began to offer their children for the holy baptism, and occasionally the adults begged it. Many of them would willingly gather to form towns, and build houses and churches, as was first done at the town of Dolores, then at Nuestra Señora de los Remidios, San Jose de Imuri, Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, Santiago de Cocospera, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, and other places.

At other times other padres came, who, although they did not remain long in this Pimería, assisted padre Kino with good success, progressed in the faith, made baptisms, started houses and churches, and appointed governors, justices, *fiscales* and *topiles*.[4] Together with instruction in the faith, they taught the Pimas political life and rational customs. In 1693 padre Agustin de Campos, being assigned to the mission of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio, started his various entradas from there, sometimes in company with Padre Kino, sometimes alone. One and another worked so gloriously that in a little while they had traversed all of Pimería, making many baptisms, with well-founded hopes of its total conversion and a staff of five padres. In the year 1695 the common enemy of the good of the souls armed his hosts to impede the progress with the deaths of the ministers of the faith.

The Indians of Tubutama, Uquitua, and other evildoers, having risen in rebellion, assembled in Caborca on Holy Thursday, March 13, where on Holy Saturday padre Francisco Javier Saeta was killed by cruel blows from their clubs and 22 arrow wounds.

The rebellion lasted all of one year with various incidents, until general José de Gironza, foreseeing that the conspiracy might spread to the other Christian and gentile tribes, sent a message to the general of the kingdom, D. Gabriel del Castillo, telling what had happened and asking help in the form of more soldiers. Captains D. Juan Fernandez de la Fuente and D. Domingo Teran de los Rios came with those in their charge, and the three companies marched upon the rebellious nation, punishing various accomplices, and surrounding the rest with so many soldiers that they died of hunger, thirst, privation and fear, until they surrendered and peace followed.

Everything being quiet, in November of the year 1696 Padre Eusebio Kino set out for Mexico City and arranged with the father superior for new workers. New padres, who followed their work fervently, came to this new vineyard. Four missions had been founded in Pimería prior to 1730—Dolores, Tubutama, San Ignacio, and Caborca. About that year others were added—Santa Maria Suamca, Guevavi, and San Javier del Bac. If all of these missions had always been supplied with ministers, now today there would be no heathen in Pimería Alta. But since ordinarily on account of various circumstances few workers remained in said Pimería its complete conversion was delayed. But in spite of this, in the pueblos and rancherias situated at the springs and in the meadows of the rivers which the seven missions comprise, in some parts there are few and in others no heathen; and even in these last years many rancherias situated in the interior in dry and sterile country where they could not be ministered to were brought down by the efforts of the Fathers and settled in missions already founded where they have been catechized and baptized. It is certain that in the last six or seven years more than 14 of these rancherias have become congregations of the missionary fathers, and if the royal officers of the provinces would assist in so pious a work the conversion of the last of these rancherias would quickly follow.

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[3] Recent studies indicate that Kino was surprisingly blind to native religions. The Papagos have a well-organized tribal religion, whose chief deity is *Iitoi*, or Elder Brother. Menje, in Luz de Tierra Incognita refers to this deity as *Jitoy*.

[4] These terms for municipal officers are still in use in the more primitive parts of Mexico. A *fiscal* corresponds to the tax collector in more civilized communities. The *topil* (from the Nahuati *topile*) is the village peace officer, who combines the duties of bailiff and policeman.

The Pimas Altos having in the year 1694 informed Capt. Don Mateo Mange of a large river and large houses toward the north and northeast at the edge of Pimería, Padre Kino was at first incredulous, but there came to see him at Dolores some Indians of San Javier del Bac, who, on being questioned, verified the report, and accompanied him to go and see and discover them. He met many people on the journey, which there and back was more than 200 leagues. The same padre repeated the journey to the Gila River at the special order of his visitor, to inform the Padre Provincial and His Excellency, who ordered that the new conversions should be promoted and that a hand should be lent in the Northwest to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, who was working in California. His reverence went to the Pima rancherias on the Gila, assembled the neighboring Cocomaricopas, who brought the *fiscal* of their nation, to whom Padre Kino, during his first journey, had given the rod of office. This Indian understood both the Pima and Cocomaricopa languages well. The dress of the men and women, as well as the language here, is different from the Pima, but the padre says the people are friendly and well-featured, closely related to the Pimas, and wish to be Christians like the Pimas. In three or four rancherias, where all know both languages, the padre on this occasion gave to the one who is *fiscal* the rod of office of captain, and to another that of *fiscal mayor*, and sent them with very good messages to their great nation.[5]

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[5] The Spanish version reads *tlatoles* (Nahuatl *tlatolli*—words).

In the year 1697 Padre Kino, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, and 22 soldiers made another journey to the Gila River, which was carrying much water, and the Casas Grandes. Some years later, Padre Kino explored the Gila farther down, near its junction with the Colorado, where the Yuma nation lives.

Padre Agustin de Campos followed Kino's footsteps, but since the two padres then had so much to explore in this same Pimería, and on this side of the Gila, they never crossed it again. There also came Padre Ignacio Javier Keler, who crossed it, and went a little distance to the junction of two other rivers, the Salado and the Verde. The river formed by their union is called the Río de Asunción, which joins the Gila. He passed the junction, went to the first Cocomaricopa rancheria, and returned.

In the year 1744 Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr went by the Papago trail[6] to the Gila, and also to the middle of the Cocomaricopa nation. In the year 1744, on another journey, he crossed it farther up at Casas Grandes, and farther north he crossed the great Río de Asunción and saw that farther on the Gila joins the Asunción, and he saw that the Gila now having been joined by the Asunción, makes a great bend to the north, which bend he explored, examining everything and noting minutely all the Cocomaricopa nation and their rancherias. He went straight down the banks of the Gila to the Colorado, on which he went 40 leagues from the Gila, discovering on its plain a very beautiful water hole. Tracing the Colorado farther up, he came near where it joined another blue river,[7] and near to the boundaries of the famous province of Moqui. These are the discoveries made by the Jesuit Fathers, from the accounts which are most certainly correct, especially about the Gila River.

The Gila River then rises to the south of the rock of Acoma, a pueblo in New Mexico, runs some distance this way (south) and, having other arroyos as its tributaries, turns its course to the west, where the Apache nation, perpetual enemy of the Spanish and of the missions of Sonora, lives primitively, and from whence they conduct their raids and thieveries. In 34 degrees of the the north pole (N. Lat.) the river of the Pimas joins the Gila River, which comes in from the south. From this junction it is 22 leagues to Casas Grandes. The distance from Acoma to this junction cannot be verified, for the course lies through enemy country.

One of the Casas Grandes is a large building,[8] the principal room in the center being four stories high, and its adjacent rooms on the four sides three. Its walls are 2 varas thick (about 5 feet), of fine mortar and clay, and so very smooth on the inside that it seems to have been planed or polished, so that it shines like Puebla pottery. The corners of the windows, which were made with a mold or form, are very straight, and there are no hinges or crossbars of wood. The doors are similar and very narrow. From this we know that the building is the work of Indians. The structure, 37 paces long and 22 wide, is of good architecture.

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[6] Probably the present Camino del Diablo, which goes from Caborca through Sonoyta and across the Pinacate lava flows to Tinajas Altas and Wellton, Ariz.

[7] Probably Bill Williams Fork.

[8] The extreme similarity of this description to Manje's leads to the conclusion that Sedelmayr copied it from Luz de Tierra Incognita.

An arquebus shot away one sees 12 other houses, half-fallen, with thick walls and the roofs fallen in, except in one quarter, where there are some brown beams, rounded, smoothed and not thick, which appear to be of cedar or juniper. On top of these beams are some very uniform canes, and on top of these canes is a layer of mortar and hard clay, making a very curious high roof.[9] Within a radius of 2 leagues of this place are many other buildings, ruined by earthquakes, and many broken pottery jars and plates of fine clay, painted in various colors and resembling the jars of Guadalajara in this New Spain. From this it is inferred that there was a great settlement or city, of civilized and governed people. This is verified by the presence of an irrigation canal, going from the river across to the plain, in whose center is the city, which is 10 varas wide and about 4 deep, and which carries the greater part of the flow of the Gila River. Not only does this canal serve as a defensive moat, but it provides water to the vicinity and gives irrigation to the lands nearby. About 12 leagues farther down there are two other edifices with smaller buildings nearby and an irrigation ditch, and on the last trip I discovered toward the north the ruins of another building, with smaller buildings nearby, between the Gila and Asunción Rivers, all of which are said to have been built by a people who came from the north.

The chief of this tribe was named *El Ciba*,[10] which in the language of the Pimas means "the cruel and bitter man". They waged bloody wars with the Apaches and the 20 nations confederated with them, many on both sides being killed. The tribe became disgusted and broke up, some of them returning to the north, from whence they came many years before, the others going to the east and south. There is also a reservoir 7 leagues distant from the river toward the south, which is hand-made, almost square or rectangular, and 70 varas long by 40 wide. Its banks appear to be walls or breastworks of mortar or stone and mortar, from the hardness and strength of the material. At its four corners are gates which admit rain water. The Indians say that this reservoir was made by the same people who built the Casas Grandes. Considering this information, it is probable that these people were the ancestors of the Mexican nation, especially when we consider the buildings. Those cited in 34 degrees are similar to those near the country of the Janos,[11] in 29 degrees, which are also called Casas Grandes, and we know of many others which are as far north as 37 and 40 degrees.

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[9] An interesting and accurate description of a typical adobe-house roof, still in use today. The "otates muy parejos" were probaby saguaro ribs.

[10] This legend may be an actual description of the wanderings of the ancestral Aztecs. The group that went to the south and east were almost certainly the builders of the Casas Grandes in Chihuahua. Recent work in the Gila Valley indicates that the reservoir herein described may have been an Aztec ball court. The Moctezuma legend of the southwest, long thought to have been introduced by the members of the Coronado expedition, may be, in view of recent archeological discoveries, an actual legend of the Gila tribes, of pre-Columbian origin.

It appears to me that Moctezuma resided in Casa Grande; and, in other buildings on both sides of the Gila, his governors lived: for always, in this type of ruin, one building is outstanding, and dominates the others. We will now leave to the consideration of the individual reader the problem of whether these lands, in which we know Moctezuma kept so many subjects, and even where he wanted to found his empire, were bad. Today there lives on the plain of the Gila, not very far from the Casa Grande, a branch of the Pima nation, divided into three rancherias. The most easterly is called Tuquisan; 4 leagues farther downstream is Tusonimo; and still farther down, where the river is greatest in hot weather, and where it begins to show itself, is the great rancheria of Sudacson. All of these rancherias have much land in cultivation; their Indians raised corn, frijole beans, squash, melons, and cotton when I visited them; those at Sudacson raised wheat by irrigation. From these rancherias there goes a road directly north to the province of Moqui, but very close to it on the east side is a mountain range inhabited by enemy Apaches. In the year 1743 they fell upon Padre Ignacio Keler, of the Company of Jesus, and stole his horses, so that his reverence returned with great difficulty. These Pimas of the Gila are enemies of the Apaches, as has been previously stated, so that it should be possible to establish in these three rancherias a flourishing mission (combining with them also the nearest Papago rancherias, whose principal Indian, and governor at the time, 1697, left the camps and went to Santa Maria Basarac, more than 150 leagues, for the sole purpose of asking baptism. He was baptized with the name Juan de Palacios, in honor of the provincial of the time). The Pima Indians of these rancherias have been there for 50 years, so that they are used to the presence of the padres. For this reason, and in the hope that they have been given some religion, I baptized them, and the padres baptized the children who were offered. Leaving the Pima rancherias, and going 5 leagues down river, one comes to a beautiful water hole with some canebrakes in its surrounding meadow. At this place is Santa Teresa; and, going 5 or 6 leagues farther in sight of the river and its trees, one comes to its junction with the Asunción, composed of the Salado and Verde. At this junction is a very pleasant country with estuaries, swamps, canebrakes, and many alder and poplar trees. At this junction starts the great curve of the Gila from northwest to south, the course turning to the west. This curve I discovered and traveled along during the whole of the year 1744.

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[11] Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. R. M. Described by Lumholtz in "Unknown Mexico", vol. 1, pp. 85–93. Also by A. F. Bandelier, J. R. Bartlett, and others.

From the junction to the first rancheria is about 12 leagues; this populous rancheria being Stue Cabitic, inhabited by both Pimas and Cocomaricopas, most of whom understand both languages. Going down the Gila Valley, on both sides of the river, with little separation are: Norchean, Gohate, Noscaric, Guias, Cocoigui, Tuesapit, Comarchdut, Yayahaye, Tuburh, Caborh, Pipiaca, Oxitahibuis, Aicatum, Pitaya, Soenadut, Aopomue, Atiahigui, Cohate, San Felipe de Uparch, Aritutoc, Urchaoytac, Tubutavia, Tahapit, Amoque, Shobotarcham, Aqui, Tuburh, Tucsares, Cuaburidurch, Oitac, Toa, Caborica, Cudurimuitae, Sudac, Sasabac, Sibrepue, Aycate, Aquimundurech, Toaedut, Tuburch, Dueztumach, near which is a spring of hot water which flows into the Gila, and from which a road turns off to the Colorado, 40 leagues distant. Here ends the Cocomaricopa nation of the Gila, whose lands extend along the river for 37 leagues from Stue Cabitic. From here it is 45 leagues to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, through the lands of the Yuma nation. From this junction to the mouths of the six rivers in the Gulf of California, in 33 degrees and minutes, it is believed to be 30 leagues. Here lives the Quicamopa nation.

The previously mentioned Colorado River, which is not the Rio del Norte, for the Rio del Norte is known to empty into the Gulf of Mexico, is one of the major rivers which drain North America. It is very deep and without fords, capable of navigation and unvisited in one stretch of 20 leagues, where the banks are very high. Although the land is not very moist, the river carries much water, a sign that its source is far away. I came near the fissure in the mountains into which the river enters from the north and leaves in a southward turn to join the Gila. The river, when I discovered it in November of 1744, was muddy. Some Indians said that in March or April it is reddened, for then there are rains in the red lands, of which there are many, which color the water. This is a good explanation, it seems to me. The Pimas named it *buqui aquimiti*—red river; the Cocomaricopas call it Rio Grande, a name which those far from here, who have never seen the Colorado, apply to the Gila. The inhabitants say that it comes out from the land, carrying pieces of lichen, corn, etc., so that is not its source, but that it runs underground for a distance before it appears.[12]

The nation which inhabits its banks in one part and another where I went is Cocomaricopa, allied with the Cocomaricopas of the Gila River, with whom they communicate by the road over which I came. Farther down, near the junction with the Colorado, are the Yumas, and farther up to the north are the Nijores, who are found in 37 degrees of the north pole (N. Lat.). These last I did not visit, but the Cocomaricopas have very friendly and affectionate relations with them. They have a large trade in food—watermelons, melons, squash, beans of various colors, corn and other grains which grow at the side of the river and which resemble sand when milled. This is called *ohiaca.* They raise wheat in the moist lowlands. An ever-increasing number came to look me over from head to feet, passing from one side of the river to the other by swimming, at which they were very skillful. They were not afraid on seeing us, although they had never seen a white man before. From the information we had last year, they were on the Gila River with their relatives to see the strange people. The Moquis went into temporary camps to trade with them, as previously stated.

These discovered nations are confined to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. In the south are the Sobaipuri and Papago Pimas; to the east are the enemy Apaches, Moquis, and Nijores; to the north are nations even less known; and to the west is the Gulf of California. There are no cannibal Indians, neither are they as brutal as we were informed, nor are they unamenable to human treatment; but they are affectionate, happy, liberal, obsequious, docile, and respond to human treatment.

On my first entrada to the Gila River, they were not afraid and did not hide in fear of the people whom they had never seen. On my second visit they were not only unafraid, but tried to find opportunities to talk with me and the men of my party, chiefly because rods of office had been given to their principal men in the name of His Majesty, to start and organize law, obedience, and government among them. The clothing of the young is that of innocence, although already in many places where the padres have entered their lands, and by their instruction, they grow no little cotton, with which they weave good blankets, which some of them wear, mostly in my presence. They sell many other blankets to our Pimas for horses, knives, *chomites*,[13] pack needles, etc.

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[12] This legend was current as recently as 1865, and was heard by Maj. J. W. Powell shortly before he made his memorable journey down the Colorado. It is probably a misunderstood description of a *karst outlet,* of which there are a number on the edge of Mogollon Mesa.

[13] *Chomites* is believed by Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Southwest Museum, to be derived from the Nahuatl-*tzomitl*—wool, silk, hair cloth, or horsehair.

Their blanket in cold weather is a burning firebrand, which they hold to the pit of the stomach when traveling in the morning, and, when the heat of the sun comes out at about 8, they throw away the firebrand. There are so many discarded firebrands along the trails that they serve as guides to travelers. It is certain that from this custom these rivers were all named *Rios de Tizon*, a name which some maps give to only one. The women all go about modestly covered, most of them covering themselves from the waist to the knees with the inner bark of the willow, which, when beaten and decorated, is made into a kind of skirt. They are a well-fed and strong people, brownish in color, who do not stripe their faces like the Pimas and other nations, but use ocher only to cover the body with various colors, which they remove only when they wash. They cut their hair all around like a tonsure, so that it falls to the tops of the ears like a friar's. They decorate themselves with necklaces of sea shells intermixed with other things, and with round colored shells resembling coral, which they work and pierce. Their arrows and darts are very large and their bows are stiff and so long that they are nearly half a vara higher than a man, and the men are large. With twisted fibers they bind together reeds and small sticks, fastening them at the ends to make a kind of small boat,[14] from which they catch fish from the infinite number which there are in the river, such as trout or salmon, on which they sustain themselves.

They make bouncing balls of spherical shape from a black substance[15] that resembles resin, and inlay in them various sea shells with which they work and with which they play and make wagers. Throwing the ball with the point of the foot, they run 3 or 4 leagues, and the important feature is that he who first makes the circuit and returns to the starting point is the winner of the game. Their camps for their numerous people are reduced to one or two houses, with a roof of clay and grass, supported on many pillars of forked sticks with small beams from one to the next. These houses are so large that each holds more than 100 persons, and each house is divided into three parts, the first being a shelter as large as the house, but lower, for sleeping in the summer, the second being a hall, and the third a bedroom, in which the aged and children are put for protection. The Pimas living among them have a separate hut for each family.

The hatchet with which they cut wood for the building of their houses is the fire. They burn the bottoms of the poplar and alder trees until they fall, then burn the top until the beam is the length they want. Although the Company (of Jesus) does not excuse itself from work even in sterile lands to win souls to God, it must not be forgotten that for better reduction, teaching, and quieting of the Indians, it would be better for them to cultivate a land which would maintain them better. Their maintenance reduces itself to fish, some little corn which they plant in the well-watered river meanders, beans, and other seeds which the land produces without cultivation, like weeds, and a sweet-tasting fruit like a screw bean, the size of the little finger. On the Colorado grow squash, melons, corn, some wheat, and the grain which they call *ohiaca.* They impound river water and lead it to their cultivated fields for irrigation. There is a great abundance of supplies in all the Gila Valley, from its plains and fertile fields to the banks of the river and its islands.

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[14] A *balsa*. Illustrated and described in detail in "The Seri Indians" by W. J. McGee, Seventeenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–128. Also by A. L. Kroeber and others.

[15] Probably *guayule*.

They have no religion; no idols, nor temples, nor public cult, although since our missionary journeys, they have knowledge of the true God, and they give the salutation in their language: *Dios manegue quia*, *Dios te ayude*, they use, or *su amigo.* There are no sorcerers among them as there are among all the other nations. The sorcerers are the greatest obstruction of the conversion. One of them described to me, and I saw, in the wall of the Casa Grande, a niche, in which there was an image of a man, who was burned in front of a crowd of Indians at Sudacson for saying that they should not believe in such witchcraft.

The language of all these nations—Cocomaricopa, Yuma, Nijora, Quicamopa—is one soft to hear, and as easy as the Pima is not, for they have the soft *e* which the Pima lack, using the repeated *u* instead. They chant their language. There live among them a number of Pimas who also know another language: these were my interpreters on my entradas, although on my last trip to the Colorado I took for an interpreter a Christian Yuma Indian, whom the Cocomaricopas had raised, sold to the Pimas, who sold him to the Spanish, who gave him to me. The reason that these nations, although of the same language and customs, have differences, is because of the little wars which they have among themselves, which amount to spying on the people of a distant rancheria, killing them, and saving the children, which they covet to sell to the Pimas for things of little value. The Pimas sell them to the Spanish for ten things which they want, which include a knife, a yard of ribbon, etc.

All of these captives here are called *Nijores*, although there is another nation hereabouts called *Hijeras.* There are, on the Colorado, some bones placed in a high tree as a trophy of a Nijora woman whom they killed. At times they do not make peace, although their wars do not last long, and from the distrust which they cause, there is always an unpopulated area separating the two nations. With the

Spanish and Christians they have not made war, neither have they allied themselves with our enemies the Apaches. They give up their wars easily on entering the Faith, as we have seen in this Pimería, where there have been wars, as is shown by the *Trincheras*[16] on many of their mountains, but from the teaching of the padres, they became reconciled and made peace. Their diet is of rabbits, hares, deer, and mountain sheep which go by narrow trails from the Gila to the Colorado. The sheep and deer, of which there are an infinite number on the banks of the river, where they go to drink, have made many wide trails in their wandering. The labyrinth of trails confused us, as we could not tell which was the trail of the people. On the valley floor these trails divide, and in the living rock of some of the mountains and hills the trails of the deer can be seen. The Indians kill some of these deer and tan their hides. They also know of the buffalo, which they do not have in their country, for they have much trade in hides with Indians (from the buffalo country) who sell them.

Passing now to the advantages which will result from the conquest of these rivers, and from the founding of missions on them, which are the first and principal motives in the royal hearts and in the consideration of the sons of San Ignacio, their discoverers. Already this reduction has become only a means to an end, which I will state: namely, the advancement of our Holy Faith. Of the thousands of souls who live on the banks of these rivers and at their mouth, whose number I do not know, and have no concept of, and know that I have no concept of, and which I do not want to guess for fear of deceiving others, I will be safe in saying that there are over 10,000 along the course of the Gila below Casas Grandes, and to the south nearby there live Pimas and Papagos in dry, sterile, and therefore inadministrable country, for which reason they are the most heathen, whom we hope to bring to the flock of the church and to allegiance to his Catholic Majesty, greatly augmenting the number. Some day we will see on all the Gila and Colorado Rivers a flourishing Christianity to the great happiness of His Majesty, and which will open the door for the discovery and conversion of other nations.

The conquest of these rivers will facilitate and conserve the conquests of the country to the north and northeast, where it has never been complete, ceasing in our absence, principally in the province of

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[16] Described fully in "Unknown Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, vol. 1, p. 22; "New Trails in Mexico," by Karl Lumholtz, pp. 140–144, 168. "The Beginnings of Agriculture," by W. J. McGee, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. VIII, pp. 372–373. "Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, etc." Sauer and Grand, Univ. of Calif. Pub. Geog., vol. 5, No. 3. "A Trinchera Near Quitovaguita, Sonora," by R. L. Ives, Amer. Anthropologist, vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, pp. 257–259, and others.

Moqui. Since the uprising in the province of New Mexico, when the people shook off the yoke of the faith in God, and of obedience to the king, with the death of some of the ministers of the seraphic religion, and much demoralization of the Spanish, the story has been current that they want padres of the Company (of Jesus) who will reconcile them with both majesties.

In a letter of advice which D. Antonio de Becerra wrote to Señor Virrey Marques de Casa Fuertes one reads these words:

> "Listen and hear the Moqui people lamant. Neither the Spaniard's arms against their indomitable courage, the roughness of their hills, the dryness of their inferior country, nor the teachings of the religious, have ever lessened their incorrigibility; except the black-robed fathers, or those of four peaks, as they say, naming the padres of the Company of Jesus; and they add that they have many times begged the governors of New Mexico for these padres.

Therefore, out of respect for the seraphic religion, and not desiring to displace anyone, the Company has refrained from soliciting its reduction, but recently, the padre provincial having, in the year (17)44, received an unsolicited order from His Majesty, charging the Company with the reduction of Moqui, Padre Ignacio Keler went past the Casas Grandes and up the Gila, directly toward Moqui, with an esort of nine soldiers. The enemy Apaches fell upon the party, stealing most of their horses and wounding one soldier, so that they were forced to return.

In the year 1744, I discovered the Colorado River and gathered much information about Moqui, which was given me by some Indians who had been to the valley of the river higher up. Lacking guides and a military escort, and because three of the Indians who accompanied me were already sick, it was not possible to penetrate to Moqui, which cannot be farther than two days and a half by trail from here. Padre Kino states that from his information it is 10 leagues. On my trip to San Rafael they told me that it had been the first settlement of Moqui. From the junction of the river of the Sobaipuri Pimas to Moqui is no greater distance than from 34 degrees to 36.

From this I may say that if a mission is founded at Casas Grandes, and some Pima warriors are made subjects of the Royal Dominion, these Pimas can go to Moqui with the padres as a company of soldiers, serving as guides, messengers, and escort, and the same can be done when a mission is founded at San Rafael de Hotaiguca on the Colorado. Further, the same Moquis, who go at times to trade with the Cocomaricopas of the Colorado, have become friends of the padres, and have invited them to their country, as their neighbors. With the settlement and conquest of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, a step is made toward Moqui, and with the conquest of these rivers, the royal dominion will be greatly increased, for from the junction of the river of the Sobaipuris with the Gila it is about 160 leagues downstream to its mouth and 40 leagues more down the Colorado from its junction with the Gila. Certainly in this manner the Colorado can be made the frontier. This will also prevent conquest by other European nations, whose curiosity about this often-mentioned river has been manifest, particularly the nation whose conquests in the east have already reached Louisiana, which cannot be far from the sources of the said Colorado. Unless we prevent another nation from occupying the Colorado River, the Spanish conquests in North America will pass out of our control as easily as they have collected the maps we know of.

Another advantage, and not the least, which will result from this new conquest is the suppression of the cruel Apache nation, which lives to the east of these rivers, and from whence almost every month they come in growing numbers to rob and kill in the province of Sonora, doing so much damage to its settlements that today, because of their continued invasions, many lands, ranches, haciendas, and mines of great promise are abandoned. It follows that if these rovers were settled, and there were placed on the Gila, down which they come from Apacheria, a fort, for which I have already picked a good site, and if those nations which have already become our subjects were allied together against this common enemy, the gates of the enemy will be held very easily, and they will be corraled between this new presidio to their west, the two presidios of Terrenate and Coro de Guachi to their south, and that of Janos to the east, at the pass of New Mexico, leaving no gap or breathing hole except toward the heathen at the north.

With this conquest will come the long-desired solution of the problem of California—whether it is an island, or chain of islands, or a continent; a matter which up to now has been disputed by the workers in this northern America. The arguments for one side or the other among these missionaries are not convincing, and even though they be stronger on one side, I will not be content with explanations, but will hope for the certainty, which should not be hard to obtain if the Colorado and its mouth were settled. At any rate, whether it is an island or a continent, the abundant harvest which we predict from the fertile lands of these rivers will be of aid to sterile California, and without much trouble or work. The harvest can be loaded on canoes, made on the Gila and Colorado rivers, and floated to the mouth in the Gulf of California, where it will only be necessary to transship the cargo; and thus, the missionaries on one side of the river will be able to help those on the other. The padres of California, from 28 degrees of latitude, in which ends Christianity, will, briefly, be able to extend their discoveries toward the north of the island, going to 33 degrees and minutes where the mouth of the river is, and even farther, without their steps being shortened by lack of food and supplies, thereby finishing the often-ordered conquest of all California.

I do not understand mines of gold and silver, for that is not my job; nor do the Indians of the Gila and Colorado Rivers understand them, for they are not very greedy; but it does not follow from this that there are not mines in these places, although it can be said that they have not been discovered. But who can discover them? Certainly not the Indians, who have no concept of, desire for, or use for silver; not the Spanish or civilized people, who have not entered, settled or prospected the country; not the few arrieros who accompanied the padres on their entradas. These arrieros may understand mines, and find traces of ore, as happened on my entradas, now this and now that indicating mineral, and of good quality, as they went along (float). After seriously considering, and with no desire to mislead the jealous padres, whom the Indians think come only for their souls, and without being able to give reasons or verification, it seems likely that God, who is the real benefactor, will reimburse the settlers of these lands, for their past expenses, with these attractive mines of gold and silver.

It is clear that the chief occupation in this Pimería Alta 20 years after the padres started its conversion was not the running of mines, but when some Spaniards entered it and discovered a number of silver mines, there followed a general feeling of uncertainty, not about the tenor of the silver veins, but about the means and needs of some poor miners, who today need lead, tomorrow mercury, another day steel and iron, then game, then clothes to dress their peons, then a blacksmith, then everything; and they are always needing something. The almost total lack of these things is due to the great distance of more than 600 leagues from the mines to Mexico City, or, to say it better, the difficulty of transporting these things and carrying them on the backs of mules.

The foregoing was the case in 1736, but a few years later, when his Catholic Majesty, our King (whom God guard), founded three new missions in Pimería, namely Guevavi, Santa Maria, and San Javier del Bac, there were discovered near them various mines, and, distant from Guevavi about 8 leagues was discovered the famous *Cerro de las Bolas*,[17] in which were found nuggets of virgin silver, and many arrobas of metal. The various inhabitants have left there, partly because they had exhausted the wealth, partly because of the invasions and killings by the enemy Apaches, and doubtless because there was nothing more to collect and work. Believing that there might be more silver in the interior of the hill, His Majesty ordered that it be worked to his benefit. Although there are no known mines on the Gila and Colorado Rivers, there is no lack of hopes and possibilities of their existence. In the year 1697, Capt. D. Mateo Mange, traveling with Padre Francisco Eusebio Kino to the rancheria of San Javier del Bac, 40 leagues from the Gila, was told by some Indians of a metallic rock to the west which seemed to be rich in silver.

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[17] At Arizonac, Sonora, R. M. This area is still a steady small producer of placer gold and silver.

In the year 1699, on another trip to the Gila, the same party passed hills of rock and *tequestete*[18] of metal which seemed to be mineralized, and on the same trip, nearer the Gila River, where the heathen Yumas live, they crossed some small hills of green, yellow, and other-colored gravel. About 17 leagues above the junction of the Gila with the Colorado they found a metallic lava which gave silver after panning or roasting. They took out of the river, at a curve, the vessel of red and livid material in which they concentrate it, which in New Spain is called *temesquitate.* Perhaps the ancient inhabitants of New Mexico, when they discovered the rich Sierra Azul, concentrated the metal in it, and the current of the river carried it here. Also, the aforementioned Captain Manje says that the Indians told him that the Verde River, which first joins the Salado and then the Gila, was named so because it passes by a mountain containing many veins of green, blue, and other-colored minerals.[19] We do not know that this was the Sierra Azul, in which it was reported that an infinite number of mines of gold and silver were seen, from which were taken much good ore compared to the small amount of metal taken out and smelted in New Mexico at the beginning of its pacification. The pacifiers were not able to return again, fearing that the pueblos would revolt like the new conversions, so for many years we have had only reports of the Sierra Azul, but those coming to settle the Gila Valley have hopes of discoveries in that direction.

In the last few years, not very far from the new road to the Cocomaricopa nation, which I discovered, there were found some large sheets of virgin copper,[20] of which I saw some and took them in my hands. I do not know whether or not this is evidence that there might be more there also. To conclude briefly, those who are settling these river valleys have hopes of discovering mines, and also placers of pearls.

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[18] *Tequestete* is rendered *tepustete* in the Rudo Ensayo, p. 243. This is probably derived from the Nahuatl *tepuztli,* metal, and *atle,* instead of. The material itself, from descriptions and locations given in other accounts, is almost certainly *gossan,* the iron-stained outcrop of a mineral vein.

[19] Probably the site of the present Jerome, Ariz., copper and gold mine region. Sedelmayr's prophecy about the mines in this area was strangely accurate, considering his professed ignorance of mining.

[20] These sheets of native copper are rather common in the copper-mining regions of Arizona, being the result of secondary deposition of copper in joints and along bedding planes in the rock. Another such copper plate is mentioned in "The Journey of Coronado" by G. P. Winship, p. 75.

With the settlement of these river valleys other information, whose truth I can neither confirm nor deny, can be investigated. It will be desirable to investigate the statements of the Pima inhabitants of the Gila Valley, which are that they are certain that there is, about 100 leagues to the north of Moqui, a small tank of dense material, of the color of silver, which is in continual slow motion, which when picked up runs out of the hands, and which is surrounded by red earth; indications of mercury. Who knows whether this is true or not?[21] This same account describes a mine of mercury that they have in New Mexico. I am an ocular witness that the Indians of the Colorado paint themselves with a very red pigment which resembles vermilion or red ocher, and they tell me that up the river there is much of this. Others say that when they break the red material which they bring to paint themselves, drops like thick white water, which collect very slowly. come out. Seven years ago a Nijora girl (of the nation which lives up the Colorado; sold by the Pimas to a miner of Agua Caliente, a mining camp in this Pimería) on seeing mercury being extracted by her owner for the refining of silver, caught some of it, and, letting it go, looked and pointed toward her homeland, with gestures and motions indicating that there was much of it in her country.

It would also be desirable to investigate the report that white men, who wear clothes, live toward the north and the seacoast. Some time ago a fleet came from there to the Colorado and traded goods with the Indians for hides.

It would be well to investigate the mysterious Indian account of a Spanish woman[22] who in past years left a house on the other side of the Colorado and came to their camps, preaching what the padres preached. This agrees with what is read in the life of the venerable Madre Agreda, who many times was seen in parts of unknown America, preaching, catechizing, and giving presents to the young.

It would be desirable to investigate and determine what rich, governed, and valiant nations inhabit this continent beyond the Colorado, an entirely unknown part of America, and to determine the location of these seven cities or caves, from which the Mexican nation issued and where they learned the organization, government, and culture which caused the Mexicans to found an empire so far from their original homeland. There is no doubt that many stayed behind to maintain this land, and some say that many left the first Moctezuma at the Gila River and returned to their lands. Also it would be desirable to see whether there are or are not kingdoms of Gran Quivira and Gran Tepeguayos, which the French are trying to discover. Many other advantages will result from the conversion of these nations which populate the Gila and Colorado Valleys, which, because I am not certain of them, or cannot expatiate on them, I am not putting on this paper.

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[21] This legend of the lake of quicksilver is common in the accounts of Pimería. The mine of mercury in New Mexico may have been the present mercury mining area of Terlingua, Brewster County, Tex., or one of the numerous small mercury mines in the Gila Valley. As native mercury sometimes occurs with cinnibar, the legend may possibly have a basis of fact.

[22] The legend of the white woman of Yuma first appears in Manje's Luz de Tierra Incognita. He obtained an eyewitness description of the woman from some aged Indians. Possibly this legendary Spanish woman was the notorious Catalina D'Erauso, who disappeared from a ship in the harbor of Vera Cruz in 1635. The present Yuma Indians have either forgotten this legend or will not tell it to white men.

The dispositions of these nations toward the reception of our faith are these: they are gentile nations, affable, affectionate and hard working, enemies of our enemies, who are enemies of the Spanish, friendly in their trading and bargaining with the Christians, domestic and very orderly in their lands. For more than 50 years they have peaceably admitted the padres to their lands, respecting them greatly and receiving rods of office from the hands of the padres, and hoping for the coming of a resident priest so that they may become Christians like the Pimas. This is testified to by the writings of Padre Eusebio Kino and Agustin de Campos and Capt. D. Mateo Mangue, mostly of the Pima rancherias of the Gila Valley, whose principal Indian made a round trip of more than 300 leagues to Santa Maria Baseraca, for the sole purpose of asking baptism and a resident priest, to whom the Pimas offer their young for baptism. In the year (17)44, when I discovered the Colorado River and wanted to go to Moqui, these Indians said to me, "Why do you go without first instructing us?"

Before leaving on this trip to Mexico City there came to San Felipe on the Gila River three heathen Cocomaricopas to see me, the town and the church; looking over everything with much curiosity, because in becoming Christians they will be able to build a church. This very clearly explains the common desire of these Indians if they are not afraid of their shamans and of some apostates, who have taken flight from here, and found refuge among them, who, as a nation, have no lack of shamans, who are those who oppose the faith and intimidate the others.

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Notes on the Creek Indians

By J. N. B. HEWITT

Edited by JOHN R. SWANTON

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NOTES ON THE CREEK INDIANS

By J. N. B. Hewitt
Edited by J. R. Swanton

Introduction

By J. R. Swanton

In the administrative report of Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt reported that he was "at work on some material relating to the general culture of the Muskhogean peoples, especially that relating to the Creeks and the Choctaw." He went on to say that—

> In 1881–82 Maj. J. W. Powell began to collect and record this matter at first hand from Mr. L. C. Perryman and Gen. Pleasant Porter, both well versed in the native customs, beliefs, culture, and social organization of their peoples. Mr. Hewitt assisted in this compilation and recording. In this way he became familiar with this material, which was laid aside for lack of careful revision, and a portion of which has been lost; but as there is still much that is valuable and not available in print it was deemed wise to prepare the matter for publication, especially in view of the fact that the objective activities treated in these records no longer form a part of the life of the Muskhogean peoples, and so cannot be obtained at first hand. In addition to this material, it is designed to add as supplementary matter some Creek tales and mythic legends collected by Mr. Jeremiah Curtin.

At that time I was preparing my extensive Creek material for the press and suggested to Mr. Hewitt that he print his own notes first so that I could refer to them. But although the administrative report for the year following indicates continued work by Mr. Hewitt on his manuscript and it appears that he took it up again in 1926 for a time, it remained unpublished at the time of his death.

Although Choctaw is mentioned in the administrative report of 1920–21 as well as Creek, the material is practically all Creek. The greater part of this Hewitt had copied, in a somewhat amplified form. I have checked his copies by the originals and have completed the copying. The material is not very extensive and in considerable measure it duplicates what I published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau, but there is some information which is unique.

The greater part of this material was obtained from Legus F. Perryman of the Okmulgee or Big Springs town and the remainder from Gen. Pleasant Porter, also of Okmulgee. Porter was at one time head chief of the Creek Nation and Perryman probably accompanied him as his "interpreter", though both appear to have been able to speak and write English, and most of these notes were originally written down by them. Mr. Hewitt states that they were obtained at Jersey City in 1881–82, but on one sheet appears the address "Tremont House, Washington, D. C.," and so it is probable that some additions were made in Washington. This would seem to be implied by Hewitt's reference to Powell's part in obtaining them. In 1881–82 Hewitt was working over Iroquois material with Mrs. Erminnie Smith, generally in New York State, but the place of residence of both was Jersey City. Some notes were evidently added in 1883. The editor met Mr. Perryman once in 1912, not many years before his death. In the 30 years that had elapsed between these two dates it is evident that much had dropped from Mr. Perryman's mind. Be that as it may, many of the items in this paper have never been printed before and add some valuable details to our knowledge of the ancient Creeks, and this in spite of the fact that Okmulgee was one of the towns most rapidly affected by European influence. It was formerly one of those affiliated with the Hitchiti, speaking the Hitchiti language which was nearer to Choctaw than to Creek.

The editor has preferred to risk some repetition of material already published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau and other papers rather than the omission of material that might be of service for a fuller understanding of the ancient Creek organization. Wherever the pronoun I appears it is the editor who is speaking, but it will not be difficult to separate the few comments that he has added.

Towns[1]

At the time when Porter and Perryman were interviewed (1881–82) they stated that there were 49 towns, each occupying a distinct territory, but that they had increased greatly after white contact and that tradition said there were originally but 18. These were all divided into two classes, one called the Itálwálgi (Itulwulki) and the other the Kipayálgi (Kipayulki, Kipoywulki, Kupahyulki).[2] This last is also given as Tipayulki but this form seems to be erroneous. The towns called Itálwálgi had control of important matters relating to civil government. Their badge was white, the emblem of peace and wisdom. The towns (or tribes) called Kipayálgi had charge of military affairs, and their badge was red, the emblem of war and prowess. In many respects the former had executive functions, while those of the latter were legislative and judicial. The colors mentioned were painted on doorposts and on various articles, and were used in bodily decoration. All of the people of a town, whether of White or Red clans, belonged as a whole to one of these two classes. Although the White towns were entitled to the civil offices, sometimes the Red towns obtained such dominion and power during war that they kept them when peace came. For instance, the White towns had civil control of the Creeks from time immemorial up to the Revolution of 1776, and then the Red towns obtained power and kept it until 1861. Since the Civil War, 1861–65, the White towns have again been in control. The White towns took sides under McGillivray with the British and this may have caused the change of power to the Red towns. The following list of the eighteen original towns with their daughter towns and the division of the nation to which each belonged is given by Perryman, but the more usual spellings of the town names have been substituted.

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[1] See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1928; also F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, vol. I, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1909; and F. G. Speck, The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town, in Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, n. s. vol. II, pt. 2.

[2] Itálwálgi seems to mean "his own towns" and Kipayálgi or Inkipayálgi, "his opposites," and it is believed that the applications of these would change with the individual. Perryman and Porter belonged to a White town and therefore their Itálwálgi were Whites and their Kipayálgi were Reds. Had they belonged to a Red town the appellations would have shifted accordingly.

WHITE TOWNS

I. Tulsa
  1. Otciapofa ("In the hickory grove").
  2. Tulsa Atcina-hatchee ("Cedar Creek Tulsa" or "Little River Tulsa").
  3. Tulsa Kaniti ("Tulsa Canadian").
  4. Lutcapoga ("Turtle Place").

Nos. 2 and 3 represent a division which took place after they migrated west. There is a note to the effect that the Tuskegee came from Tulsa but this is erroneous.

II. Tuskegee
  1. Oi-tcadi Tuskegee ("Red Water Tuskegee")
  2. Kaniti Tuskegee ("Canadian Tuskegee").

These two towns had divided only a short time before.

III.
  1. Tallahassee ("Old Town").
  2. Tukpafka ("Spunk Town").
  2a. Koasati.
  3. Wakokai ("Blue Heron Town"—the place where they nested).
  4. Wiogufki ("Muddy Water").

No. 1 is said to have been "the first." No. 2a was inserted later and the insertion is erroneous. The name of No. 4 is also that of the Mississippi River.

IV. Okfuskee
  1. Okfuskee.
  2. Tcatoksofka.
  3. Abihkutci.
  4. Nuyaka.

"These four were all one and this one was called Okfuskee. Before that they were all Tulsa and the Tuskegee were also at first Tulsa;[3] all the White towns were originally Tulsa. All came out of the ground at the Rocky Mountains." No. 2 is said to have been modern, only 50 years old in 1882.

V. Hitchiti
   1. Tålwa łåko.
   2. Okmulgee (or "Big Spring").
   3. Sawokli (extinct).
   4. Okitiyakani (extinct).

The first three were originally one town called Hitchiti. This is somewhat confusing for Hitchiti is also given among the numbered towns.

VI. Kasihta.

VII. Łålogålga ("The fishery—fish pond").

VIII
   1. Wiwohka ("A-wo′-ka") ("Roaring Water").
   2. Okchai.

No. 1 separated from No. 2.

IX. Asilanabi ("When the tea stem is green" or "Place of green leaves." The "tea" is said to have been from wintergreen leaves but this is doubtful).

X. Abihka, The gate of the nation.
   1. Abihka.
   2. Talladega.
   3. Kan-tcadi.

There was only one square at first but "of late they have had three squares."

XI. Pakan-tallahassee. From what town lately sprung is not known.

RED TOWNS

I. Coweta
   1. Coweta.
   2. Łikatcka.

These two towns were formerly one.

II. Tukabahchee.

III
   1. Hołiwahali.
   2. Łapłåko.

IV
   1. Kaialedji.
   2. Hatchee tcåba.

These were one and came from Tukabahchee.

V
   1. Atasi.
   2. Tål-muchåsi.

These were one.

VI
   1. Eufaula.
   2. Eufaula hobai ("Eufaula far away").

VII
   1. Chiaha.
   2. Osochi.
   3. Hotålgihuyana ("Whirlwind Track").

These three were one.

Towns confederated with the Creeks but speaking other languages were the following:

1. Yuchi (adopted by the Kasihta).
2. Alabama.
3. Koasati.
4. Hitchiti.

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[3] This is certainly wrong. The Tuskegee were connected with the Alabama and Koasati rather than the true Creeks.

The Yuchi language was very different from the Creek. The others resembled one another and were similar to Choctaw.

The following tribes were conquered by the Creeks or were remnants of peoples incorporated with them:

1. Apalachicola.
2. Yamasâlgi.
3. Nokfilâlgi.
4. Natchez.

These four were thought to be extinct but the first continued under the name Tâlwa łâko, and there are a few Natchez even today. Perryman thought that the Alabama, Hitchiti, and Koasati had sprung from the Apalachicola and he is, indeed, supported by their languages. A note says that Alabama, Hitchiti, Koasati, and Natchez were like Choctaw but that is not true of Natchez, though Natchez is remotely connected with the Muskhogean tongues.

The information above given corresponds in almost every detail with that which I obtained 30 years later, but, as already stated, Koasati was in no way connected with the Tukpafka group of towns, and the same may be said of Tuskegee. I did not learn of a town corresponding to Tallahassee from which the Tukpafka group are supposed to have come, and Perryman was clearly wrong, or misunderstood, in separating Łalogalga from Okchai and Asilanabi. The relationship of these three is so well recognized that not a suggestion of any difference in origin reached me. On the other hand, I am not certain that Wiwohka belonged with them, though the connection is probable. It will be noticed that, although the group to which Kaialedji and Hatchee-tcâba belongs is made coordinate with Tukabahchee, it is stated specifically that the former came from the latter, but the information I received regarding Tâl-muchâsi would separate it from Atasi and align it with the Okfuskee towns. This I believe to be correct, because the connection is stated by Hawkins. Atasi, as well as Kaialedji, is commonly believed to have sprung from Tukabahchee. Either Perryman did not know that Apalachicola and Tâlwa łâko were names for the same town or, what is more probable, he was misunderstood. The Yamasee were connected with the Hitchiti in language, and Gatschet was given to understand that Nokfilâlgi was a name for the Timucua of Florida.

A town was usually designated as a "fire," for a council fire was always kindled in it in a prescribed place, and the houses of the village had to be built within a drumbeat of that. The man who had charge of the fire was an important official and was called Tutka-titca, signifying "fire maker." Each town had a certain amount of land under cultivation and whenever a child was born it was proportionately increased, an extra allotment being made. At the annual festival a census was taken by means of sticks (the "broken days") and if it showed an increase in population, more land was taken in. This, of course, applies to the time when there was plenty of waste land around the towns. If they found they were decreasing—I suppose this means decreasing seriously—they attributed the calamity to the tythe (tie) snake and removed.

Towns, like clans, were perpetuated matrilineally, each person belonging to the town of his or her mother.

CLANS[4]

Among the Creeks the clan was a body of kindred, actual or by the legal fiction of adoption, which did not embrace the entire body of persons represented in a community having a kinship system. The persons who belonged to a clan might be regarded as the descendants of a common ancestor, a woman, through women. Only the descendants of the women belonged to the clan. The descendants of the males belonged to the several clans with which they had intermarried. Thus, a group of brothers and sisters belonged to the clan of their mother; but only the children of the sisters remained in the clan; the children of the brothers belonged to the clans of their wives, as has just been said.

The organization of the clan was based on kinship. The unit of the organization of the tribe was the clan, since each tribe was composed of a group of clans. The town was usually constituted of a number of segments of clans, each segment retaining its blood kinship rights and duties. Each household or fireside, of course, consisted of members of two different clans.

The clans were separated into two divisions, one called Hathagâlgi, "People of the White," and the other Tcilokogâlgi, "Foreigners," who were enemies, fighters, bloody, red. One authority called the second of these "Olumhulkee", probably intended for Lâmhâlgi, "Eagle People," the Eagle clan, although now nearly extinct, having at one time been important. Each of these is said to have consisted of four principal clans from which the others had, theoretically, become separated, and these, along with some of their subdivisions, were given by Perryman as follows:

HATHAGA (WHITE MOIETY)

I. Hotâlgâlgi, Wind Clan.
    a. Konâlgi, Skunk Clan.
II. Itchaswâlgi, Beaver Clan.
III. Nokosâlgi, Bear Clan.
    a. Yahâlgi, Wolf Clan.
IV. Fuswâlgi, Bird Clan.

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[4] Forty-second Ann. Rpt. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1928, pp. 114–119; F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthrop. Publs. Univ. of Pa. Museum.

TCILOKOKO (RED(?) MOIETY)

I. Aktayatcálgi, said to be the old name.
  a. Tcolálgi, Fox Clan.
II. Katcálgi, Panther Clan.
  a. Kowakatcálgi, Wildcat Clan (all cat clans came from it).
III. Ahalagálgi, Potato Clan.
  a. Halpatálgi, Alligator Clan.
  b. Wotkálgi, Raccoon Clan.
  c. Sopaktálgi, Toad Clan.
IV. Itcoálgi, Deer Clan.

The arrangement by fours falls in line with a tendency noteworthy in Morgan's treatment of clans among various tribes and might be attributed to him since his influence was all-powerful in the Bureau of Ethnology in its early years. This, however, would be a mistake. The number four is the cardinal ceremonial number among the Creeks and use of it may readily be attributed to that fact. Again, so far as the White clans are concerned, the data I got agrees precisely with that of Perryman. Even in this moiety it was probably a convention, as I learned from two or three good sources that the Katcálgi—of all clans—had formerly been on the White side. The arrangement of clans in the Red moiety is still more doubtful, outside of what has already been said of the Katcálgi. The Aktayatcálgi and Ahalagálgi were sometimes put together. More often the Tcolálgi were associated with the Ahalagálgi. On the other hand, the Wotkálgi were usually made one of the leading clans, or the leading clan of its group, and the Halpatálgi were generally given an independent position though classed with the Itámálgi, given by Perryman as an unclassified clan, and the Pinwálgi or Turkey Clan. The Sopaktálgi, however, I never before heard of associated with this group. They were always placed with the Takosálgi or Mole Clan and the Tcokotálgi, and sometimes these were put in one phratry with the Itcoálgi. Besides those clans already given, Perryman knew of two others, one called the Atciálgi or Corn Clan, of unknown affiliations. The other, the Panosálgi, is probably intended for Pahosálgi, a clan closely connected with the Deer.

THE SQUARE GROUND [5]

The Square or Yard was called Tokfi'tta (or Tokfi'kta), but sometimes Paskofa (Perryman spelled it "Pas-cofar" or "Pars-cofer").

Three plans of Creek Squares are given, two of them evidently intended to represent the same, while the third seems to be distinct. As the descriptions given in the text and the notes accompanying the sketches disagree in some particulars, it is somewhat uncertain how many Square Grounds are in question. The third plan (fig. 13) bears a rather close resemblance in its arrangements to what we know of Kasihta and is probably intended for it.[6] The four cabins erected toward the four cardinal points are indicated by A, A, A, A, and, in front of each, split logs are shown (B, B, B, B). The Chiefs (Mikâgi) who belonged to White clans sat in the west cabin, the Warriors (Tâstânâgâlgi) and Aspergers (Yaholâgi), the former at least from Red Clans, in the north cabin, the Chief's Advisers (Tâski henihâlgi) and Burden-bearers (Imałâłgi) or Warriors' Assistants in the south cabin, and the women and children in that to the east. The four cabins together were called the Big House (Tcoko łâko). C is the "Round or Steep House" (Tcoko fâski).

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[5] Ibid., pp. 170–241; also cf. Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 85, no. 8. Tokfi'tta contains the word fi'tta, "yard." Paskofa means "the swept area."

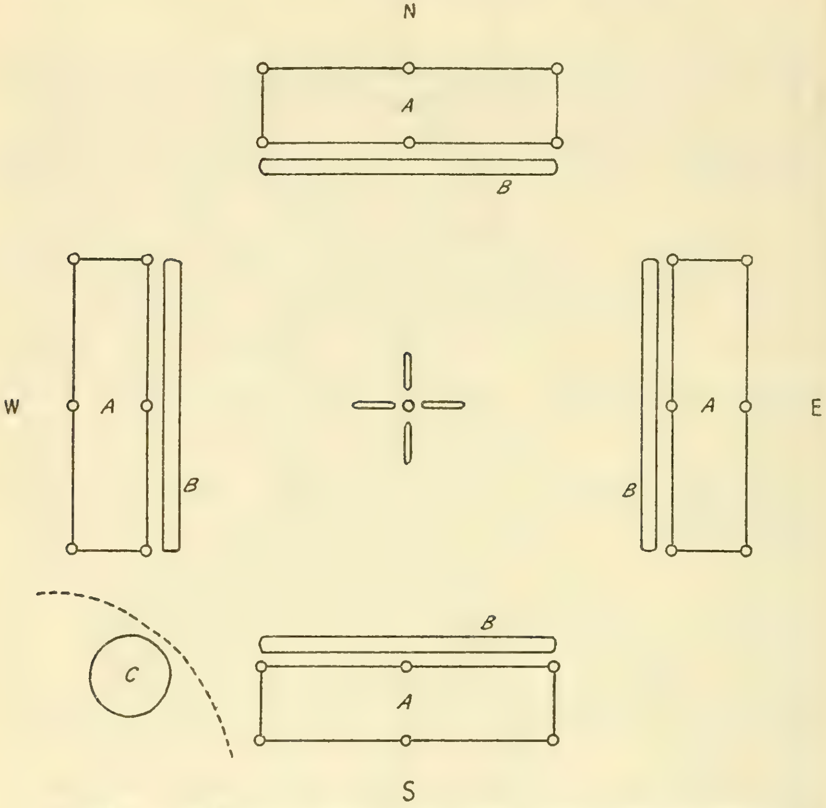

FIGURE 13.—Creek Square Ground or "Big House", probably that of Kasihta.

The other plans, combined in figure 14, may be intended to represent the Okmulgee Square to which Pleasant Porter and Legus Perryman belonged but the only other plan of that Square I have been able to obtain resembles that of Kasihta.[7] This also has four cabins but there is more detail regarding their construction. Each measured 30 by 10 feet and consisted of two long seats, one behind the other. The roof was raised on nine posts (though only six are shown in figure 13) and the ends were separated into two sections—in the minds of the Indians if not otherwise—by a median line from front to back connecting the three center posts. The cabins were oriented so as to form a perfect square facing inward, and twenty feet apart between the nearest posts. The fire was kindled in the exact center of the enclosed space, and, as indicated in the diagram, at the inner ends of four main logs arranged in the form of a cross and oriented also toward the cardinal points. Close to the front posts of all the cabins except that to the east, which was for the women and children, were four seats for men of rank. The west cabin was that of the Chief (Miko) and in it sat, as numbered, (1) the Town Chief (Tålwa

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[6] See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 266.

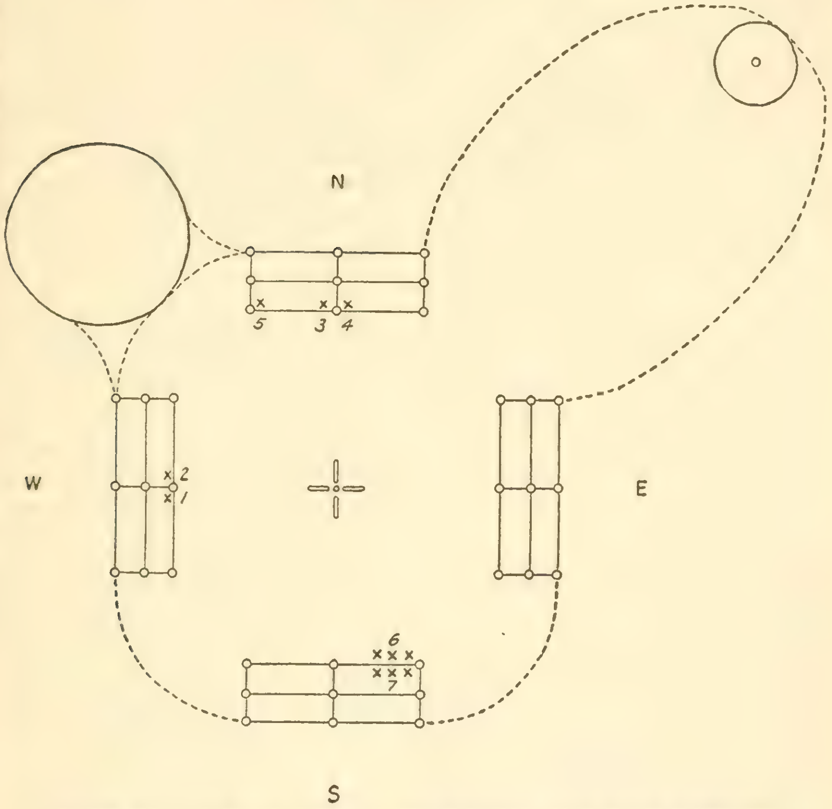

FIGURE 14.—Creek Square Ground or "Big House", perhaps that of Okmulgee.

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[7] Ibid., p. 269.

Miko), and (2) the Speaker (Simiabaya). The Warriors (Tåstånagålgi) sat in the north cabin and their leaders at the places numbered 3–5. The Henihålgi sat in the south cabin and on the fourth day of the annual busk the women (6) began their dance in front of the east end of this cabin facing the singers (7) placed there for them. The circle to the northwest marks the location of the "Round or Sharp House" said to be 100 feet in diameter and 50 feet high. The sweepings from the ceremonial ground made ridges of earth called tådjo which are indicated by the broken lines. The circle to the northeast represents a mound of earth heaped about a tree and derived from the dirt and rubbish in the Square which was scraped up annually and thrown there. The space intervening between this tree and the Square is evidently the Chunk Yard, though it is not so designated. The location of this was different in the different towns.

According to the notes in the text the Sharp House was made around a tall tree or, if no suitable tree was available, a pole erected for the purpose. Other poles were leaned against this and we are here told that it might be carried up to 60 feet. This was to furnish a shelter in case of rain. A fire was maintained there and there is where they danced in bad weather. By an evident error the text locates this at the "southeast" corner.

In the construction of all of these buildings, certain persons were assigned to the duty of procuring each of the timbers, and every clan had to provide a special number of poles for the Sharp House. This assignment was never varied.

Every person knew his place in the Square. The west and south cabins were generally occupied by men of the White clans, but in one town we are informed that they used only part of the south cabin and had some seats in the east cabin instead. This exception may have been due to the fact that the Imalålgi, assistants of the Warriors, were seated in the south cabin in the first plan given.

All of these Squares were arranged in accordance with certain measurements and the Indians were as precise about these as if their lives depended upon it.

GOVERNMENT[8]

Perryman said that each town consisted of a number of clans or rather a number of segments of clans, and the Town Chief (Tålwå Miko) was chosen from the principal one. Whenever another clan increased in numbers and importance so as to exceed that of the principal clan, a part or the whole of this clan would separate from the village and establish a new one. This happened only when the people were so numerous and the leading men so popular that they could induce members of the other clans to unite with them in the enterprise. In this way the chiefs of the several tribes came to be widely distributed among the clans. This statement must, however, be taken with some qualification since a number of related towns are known to have been governed by the same clan.

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[8] Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 276–333; Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 85, No. 8.

In the Red towns the leading officers were selected from the military line by the civil moiety, and the leading officers of the White towns(?) were selected from the civil moiety by the people of the military moiety, in whom inhered the military government and who to some extent took part also in civil affairs, as in a similar manner the civilians took part in military affairs. But questions of peace were decided by the people of the White towns, and civil officers were chosen from their body. Questions relating to war were settled by the people of the Red towns, and the military officers were chosen therefrom.

There was yet another class of people in the state, namely, the prophets and medicine men or shamans. These constituted a priesthood, and performed important functions. Every act of the Muskogee government, or of the officers thereof, was considered a religious act. Councils were always convened with religious ceremonies and the installation of officers was always opened similarly. In the charge given to the officers at their installation, the religious customs were enjoined and the importance of these shown. The festivals held by the people were all religious festivals, were opened with religious ceremonies, and were intended to inculcate religious ideas, so that when a festival was held religious truths were always taught. Whenever punishment was inflicted, the religious reasons therefor were always explained to the culprit and to the people. All punishment was explained as a washing away of the wrong. Every officer of the government was also a religious officer and was virtually a priest, and these officers were supposed to be repositories of religious truth, so that the doctrines were handed down from officer to officer of the government from generation to generation, and the method of selecting officers long in advance of their installation was needful in order that the men might be trained in the governmental, and especially in the religious, duties. In fact, governmental and religious duties were held to be one and the same.

The principal chief of a town, called Miko or Tȧlwȧ Miko, was chosen out of the domestic or White clans by the executive or Red clans. One class selected the leader from the other class. In making the selection they considered the matter for a long time. They studied the character and qualifications of the best men that the particular group of clans had, and talked about the matter sometimes for a week or more, finally selecting the man they regarded as wisest and best. They did not, however, take a formal vote. The names of a dozen men might be mentioned at first, and the number then narrowed down to one. Afterwards one of their number was chosen to deliver the decision. He might be called a member of the Executive Council. These Town Chiefs never held a higher office but the Executive Chiefs could be promoted. New members were added by the Executive Council itself, but a great many clans had no man fit for the position. They might number as many as 24 but were often fewer. The name of the new chief having been announced by these men, including a list of his virtues, a committee of these same clans notified him in a speech which lasted all night. He might refuse the honor absolutely. If he did they approached him again, but if he refused the third time they left him alone. However, a man of great prudence would refuse until the third time. He would not consent at once, but if he finally accepted he would say: "If it is your will, then it must be so." When he had accepted the office the opposite line of clans was notified of his acceptance. When it was thought to be necessary to change a chief, the matter was taken under consideration a long time. They would say: "This man is getting too old; his thoughts are getting short, and he cannot finish an idea; he cannot rule wisely. Let us select some younger man to learn the duties of the position." Then, after a long conference, another man would be selected and notified. A man's son was never made chief in his father's stead. His uncle was the nearest kin, being his mother's brother, and having the same blood as his mother.

The installation of chiefs.—When they installed a chief they put in his hand a white wing or a white feather. White was the emblem of civic rule. Sometimes they used the wing of a large white bird or white feathers from the wing of a turkey. The fan was placed in his left hand, and in his right hand he held a white staff.

A long ritual speech was made by the celebrant to the officer who was being installed. The first idea presented to him was this: "We put you on your bench and put in your hands the white fan and the white staff of authority and we also put in your care our women, our children, and people without number." They always used these ceremonial expressions, and also said, "We put the laws of our government in your hands." Then they told him that he must not occasion strife nor permit it, that he must not allow the "crossing of sharp instruments," meaning any kind of internal tribal strife, and added, "We are under you; you must see to it that this great calamity does not take place." They told him that he must not govern by sharp instruments, that is, by war, but he must govern by the law of wisdom. They told him that his eyes must look downward, but that he must not see the ground. This meant that he must keep his people in view and not be influenced by anything around him. There is a great deal involved in the idea. He must look downward toward the ground but should see nothing crawling, crawling things being evils or dangers to the public welfare. He must consider only the interest of his people. The speech of installation was very lengthy.

Two persons out of certain clans were appointed by the chiefs of the towns to install officers, and the people followed them two or four deep. They followed them about until they came and stood before the candidate, when these two men walked out before him, conducted him to his bench, and proclaimed the law to him.

To be considered a person of great wisdom a man must be able, it was said, to discuss fully and completely four lines of thought. There appears to be some confusion in the statement of these, but it seems that the speaker first (a) gave all the objections raised by the opponents of the solution he favored, then (b) he answered those objections, (c) stated all the other objections to his own ideas he could think of and (d) finally outlined his own position on the matter in hand. Usually this was done very elegantly by a skillful speaker, setting forth in succession as convincingly as he could the cases for the negative and affirmative, and often he did it so well that one would believe he advocated the position opposed to his own.[9]

Rather brief mention is made of "the Chief or Superintendent of the Council Square." He seems to have been the man called in one place Tcoko-łåko-miko, "Big House (i. e., Square) Chief." His duties were mainly confined to matters within the Square Ground, as his name implies, but he was also a kind of lieutenant to the Town Chief and took his place on occasion. Therefore he was usually called Miko Apokta, "Second Chief," and generally belonged to the same clan as the Miko.

The chief's adviser and spokesman was called Henīha or Tåski Henīha. In one place it is said that he was "the Chief or Head Herald or Speaker whose duty it was to declare the decrees and judgments of the Principal Chief acting as the spokesman of the Council and through whom said Principal Chief always conveyed to the people the knowledge of the laws and decisions of the Council in the establishment and enforcement of law and order." He had charge of certain feasts and festivals. He was supposed to be an old man, thoroughly versed in the laws and traditions of the people. Sometimes there was a fiction of age, for this office might be held by a young man. After a decision had been reached by the Council, the Town Chief called this man to him, and informed him of it, telling him just what he must say to the people, and then the other announced the decision in a loud voice to all present. Tâski Henīha seems to have been the name of the principal speaker to distinguish him from the rest of the Henīhas, for there were usually several, all drawn from one clan or one phratry.

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[9] The four lines of thought are recapitulated right afterwards and in a somewhat different manner.

As defined by Perryman, the Henīha appears to have performed the functions elsewhere assumed by the Yatika, "Interpreter." It is possible that in the Okmulgee town, or perhaps among the Lower Creeks generally, this was usual, or it may have come about through a breakdown of the organization. In the Okchai town, at least, the Henīha and Yatika were two different men, one sitting at the right hand of the Miko, the other at his left, but it was the Yatika who spoke. The position of Henīha was, however, hereditary in a special clan, usually the Wind, and at least a White clan, while that of Yatika seems to have been attained by merit. It is possible that a Yatika was gradually introduced owing to the fact that the Henīha would not always be endowed with the necessary eloquence.

The Tâstânâgi was a Military Chief whose duty it was to organize and have in charge the warriors in the town, i. e., the men who were fit to take part in warfare. In one place there is mention of two Tâstânâgis, and we know that there were sometimes more than one, and that in such cases the principal warrior was called Tâstânâgi łâko, "Big Warrior." He was the Sheriff or Chief of Police within the town as well as the Head Warrior outside of it.

The Imalas are called "burden carriers" and are said to have had certain duties to perform in the festivals. They were in fact a warlike grade below the Tâstânâgis and acted as their lieutenants and messengers. Like the Tâstânâgis, they were selected from Red clans.

The name Yaholâgi is given to several messengers, evidently those selected to administer the Black Drink to the members of the Council. In these notes a more general function is indicated, "that of a crier or herald, or one who announces or conveys to others the decisions or orders of his superiors," but their specific and original duty was probably as just given.

The Chief Priest, Fire Keeper, or Fire Maker of the town (Tutkatitca), was also known as Medicine Maker (Hilis-haya). In making a fire he bored one stick into another until the fire started. Sometimes 12 men cooperated, one boring at a time. At every Council the fire must be kindled by means of the fire drill and by the Fire Maker. He did not sleep on the night before he made the fire, being supposed to work upon it all night. He is said to have had as one of his duties that of calling the Council together by beating upon a drum at the town house. He was selected on account of his recognized abilities and appointed his own subordinates. However, he seems usually to have belonged to the same clan as the Town Chief and I was told that this was due to fear of treachery.

There was a Councilman or Elder Man who represented in the town council his clan or that segment of it which dwelt in his town. At times it became necessary for all the segments of a clan to assemble to discuss and adjust affairs which concerned the entire clan. So many new towns came into existence in later times that it happened that the jurisdiction and authority of the Elder Man or Head Man of a segment in an important town came to extend over two or more segments dwelling in contiguous towns, especially when these towns were only short distances apart. Usually each segment of a clan in the several towns had its special Elder Man but in some cases, where an original town had been divided into two or more, and such divisions occupied adjacent sites, there might be a common Elder Man for such segments, but the Elder Man of the entire clan was supreme over all, and an important case might be submitted to him from any segment.

The clan regulated its own affairs, that is to say, the conduct of its members in relation to one another. The Elder Man was the chief and usually the oldest man, but if the oldest man had become incapacitated by reason of senility, the next in age became the Elder Man. This officer was the teacher and counselor of the clan, and his authority was great. When minor offenses were committed complaint was made to the Elder Man, whose duty it was to advise and warn the offender. When offenses were more flagrant, or had been repeated after warning, complaint was made again to the Elder Man and the offender was punished in accordance with his judgment.

Elsewhere it is said that this officer was called "the Ancient." Though this office might be held by a person of any age and was sometimes occupied by a mere boy, yet he was always called the Ancient One. Nevertheless, an old man might lose his position on arriving at his dotage. When matters of importance to the segment of a clan arose, this Ancient might call a Council of the clan of all those who had arrived at years of maturity. The government and teaching of the youth of the clan belonged to this Ancient. It was his duty to instruct them, from time to time, in their duties and obligations to one another and to their elders and to the members of the clan. Punishment for even childish derelictions could not be meted out without his advice and consent, which was usually given in a formal manner. The boy or girl, the young man or young woman, was charged with the offense and the Ancient heard the evidence. He might decide that the charge was not well founded, and state that the offender had never been advised to shun the conduct charged against him. But if he decided that the offender had been duly advised regarding such evil conduct as was specified in the charge, then the offender might be whipped by members of his own clan. If matters of grave importance arose in the segment, the Ancient might call a large Council of the clan, composed of the members of two or more of the segments. At this Council the Ancient, or the one among the Ancients who was regarded as the wisest, presided and rendered judgment.

A man's status was indicated by his war or busk name. To the name of a chief was appended the word Miko, to that of a warrior of the first class the word Tâstânâgi, to that of an individual belonging to a privileged peace clan the word Henīha; and to the name of one of the second grade of warriors the term Imathla. According to the informants there were two grades beneath these, one indicated by the word Yahola, and a lowest which carried the name Fiksiko or Hatco. The arrangement is given as follows, reckoning from the lowest grade up:

> (1) Fiksiko and Hatco, (2) Yahola, (3) Imathla, (4) Henīha, (5) Tâstânâgi, "warrior," "leader of warriors," (6) Miko, "chief," or "town chief."

And the following explanation is added:

A lad on coming to maturity received his first name. He might be raised subsequently to the second grade, especially if he early manifested wisdom. The word employed for the second grade signified a crier or herald or one who announced or conveyed to others the decisions or orders of his superiors. If a lad belonged to a Red clan he might be raised to the third grade, and if to a White clan to the fourth grade. Later he might be raised from the third grade to the fifth or from the fourth grade to the sixth.

The above statements are in line with those obtained by myself, except that my informants did not define the two lowest grades clearly and I do not feel certain that they were universally distinguished. The names Fiksiko and Hatco were usually given to men known as common warriors (Tâsikaya). In another place it is said that the Yahola title was higher than Imathla, and that is quite possible since the functions of the yahola criers were important and were concerned with the cult of a being supposed to preside especially over the busk. The later statement is also evidently correct in claiming the yahola title particularly for the White clans.

The Ancient of the clan or Elder Man seems to be confounded sometimes in the material at hand with the Simiabaiya (or Isimiabaya), which means "he who adds to," or "he who keeps (a body of people) together." In common usage it meant "a leader," and he was usually described as "a chief who represents national interests," one "who represents the town in the council of the confederacy and who represents the town council in matters relating to the confederacy." This is borne out by what is said regarding the manner in which he was selected. We are told that the Simiabaiya came from the same section as the Chief of the town, and that when he attended the General Assembly he usually took with him one of the Tȧstȧnȧgis from the other bench. This is evidently on the assumption that the town Chief belonged to a White clan. In the contrary case, a leader among the Whites would probably be selected. Considerable is said about the manner in which new Simiabaiyas were selected but it leaves one in doubt whether the position was retained in the same clan or whether it was retained in two clans of opposite moieties and alternated between them. We read that if the Simiabaiya "is of the clan of the Deer, they will take another man from the Deer clan that has been schooled under him, or some old man of the same clan, and he will be taught under that man. The young man steps into his place from the same clan and the same family as the reigning Simiabaiya. Sometimes they have two or three in training at one time." And yet some of the preceding sentences seem to imply that there was an alternation between the Red and White sides. Just above the Simiabaiya is identified with the Ancient of the clan and it may be imagined that the two offices were often combined in one man.

Again, it is said that the clan chiefs were selected by agreement within the clans on the ground that the individuals so selected were the best and wisest men in the clan and therefore able to represent their interests and assert their rights before the chief. "They are selected usually without any vote, but by general consent of the constituents in consultation."

The Councils[10]

The Council was called Inłałaka, łałaka being a word which signified "great men" or "officers." The town council is said to have been composed of the Town Chief (Miko), the Square Chief (Tcoko-łȧko Miko), the "Speaker to the Chief," who in this case seems to be identified with the head Tȧstȧnȧgi, and a Councilman from each of the clans, that is, its Ancient. Although it is not so stated, I feel that it must have included the other speaker for the chief, the Tȧskihenīha, though he may have been admitted to it as Ancient for his own clan. This, indeed, appears to be indicated in another place.

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[10] See footnote 8.

It is said that town councils were called together by the Fire Maker, presumably at the instance of the Chief. The Fire Maker would go to the town house and beat upon the drum, and then summon the Town Chief, the Square Chief, the man who had charge of the Square Ground ceremonies, and three or four other Councilmen called "lawmakers." These last (?) would then call the people together and state the case to them. If a trespass, for instance, had been committed against some other town, the latter would appoint two persons to meet the others and agree upon some definite method of adjustment. Representatives of both parties would meet and settle the difference.

It was the duty of the Ancient to call the clansmen together in council. If they dwelt near one another, he sent a messenger to notify them. If they lived far apart, he broke up a number of sticks and sent to each a bundle containing as many sticks as there were days between that time and the date of the Council. The one who received the sticks threw one away each day, and when he threw away the last one he went to the place of meeting. In the town they all lived within sound of the drum but they did not use it in calling the clan together.

At least some of the people were privileged to petition the Town Chief to summon general gatherings. On such occasions the Tȧski-henīha, or the several Henīhas, were also consulted. After the Council had assembled the Chief would set before its members the reasons for calling it, and tell them to take the subject matter into consideration. This was communicated to them directly by the Chief's Speaker.

In the case of a Council of the Confederation, the łałakas, or "officers," included the Simiabaiyas, but it is uncertain how many others were added. It was their duty to bring with them the officers of their respective towns, but these were usually only listeners. There was commonly one presiding officer of this Council with a second chief under him, but sometimes there were two of each. The first usage was probably the original one, but it may have been changed to the second "owing to some difference of opinion." The two principal chiefs had equal power and so did the subordinates, but the latter had no duties to perform, being merely in line of succession to the leadership. They would choose two others to succeed them when they became principal chiefs. The presiding officer of the Council informed the Town Chief of any decision that had been made, whereupon the latter would go over the matter with his own speaker in a low voice and the speaker would announce the decision to the officers of the town there met together. It was the duty of the officers to pay strict attention to this so that they could repeat it substantially as it had been announced to them. The speaker would instruct them that on their return to their respective towns they must call their people together and communicate to them the laws or other matters that had been resolved upon at the General Council. They were also to say what the result of disobeying these would be.

There was no set time for the meetings of the Confederate Council. Whenever these great men thought it necessary to call it together, it was summoned by direction of the Chief. This apparently means the presiding officer of the Council, who would then send the broken or split sticks to every town in the nation which was expected to attend the Council.

NAMING[11]

The first personal name was given to a child at birth in commemoration of an important event which might have occurred then, or in remembrance of some good or ill fortune that had befallen one of the older clan people, some one of the mother's brothers or sisters or their children. That is, it might refer to an event which was connected with the person's immediate family or members of his clan. For instance, if some person, perhaps the father or mother, ran away or was thrown down, or if the father was on an expedition and a remarkable event happened, the child born soon afterwards was named from that occurrence. This was the first name. It was a baby name, and it did not amount to anything. It simply denoted the time of the child's birth. Sometimes, when nothing unusual had occurred, the child was named from some peculiarity of the mother or father.

But when the child reached puberty it became necessary to give it a new name, and the right to select this inhered, not in the members of its own clan or moiety, but in the members of the paternal clan or moiety on the other side of the Council Fire. Certain persons within that clan had the matter in charge because of their relationship.

The proper notification of the need for giving one of their offspring a name having been made to the officers of the paternal clan, a suitable name was chosen. A new name was not coined on each occasion, for each clan had a large number of names peculiar to it which were constantly in use, being bestowed again after the death of the bearer. On occasion two or more persons might have the same name.

And so at the annual festival called poskita the Elder Man of the paternal clan stepped forth at the proper time and called out loudly a certain name four times in succession. The person to whom this name was to be given did not know that it was to be bestowed upon him, and he was then informed. Thereupon he stepped forth in front of the said Elder Man and received the name along with a present. Sometimes the name indicated the rank conferred because certain names became attached to certain official positions, as has been explained elsewhere, and installation into an office carried with it the name attached thereto. If a young man was of great promise he might also receive a name belonging to the highest rank of clan chiefs, or the highest to which he might be entitled by reason of his clan relationship.

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[11] See Forty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 97–106.

A youth was likely to receive first the names hadjo or fiksiko. Hadjo signifies "excited," "enthusiastic," "mad," "crazy," and fiksiko "without a heart," "brave." Hadjo denotes a lively or active person, an athlete. Fiksiko means brave, courageous, literally "without feelings." Bestowal of the first name meant that the youth was now worthy of manhood.

The titles given subsequently, Imathla, Tȧstȧnȧgi, and Miko, have been described elsewhere. They carried with them official functions and special seats on the Square Ground.

Often men acquired two names or titles.

Hopayuki was the highest name of all. The bearer of it combined the qualities of a warrior and prophet and it was derived from hopayi which signifies "a prophet." Perryman added that it signified a traveled warrior, one who had been in foreign lands. A Civil Chief might also have this title. Those who had it "did the thinking and the predicting," but the warriors carried out their matured plans.

MARRIAGE [12]

When a man was considered by his clansmen entitled to a wife a conference was held by the elder men of the clan. The prospective groom must, however, have the following virtues. He must be a good hunter, a brave warrior, and an athlete. Having decided that he was old enough and fully capable of becoming the parent of children, a decision which gave him adult status, the elder men conferred with the elder women of the clan, saying to them in substance: "Our young man," giving his name and qualifications, "should now have a wife. He is now a man. He should have the orderly opportunity of having offspring and strengthening our people thereby."

They and the women debated the question seriously and in the best possible spirit, and the women took the matter under advisement. It was naturally supposed that the women knew the qualifications of the marriageable women of other clans better than the men. They selected some family in a clan which had a cousin relationship with their own and could intermarry with theirs and in which there were marriageable women.

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[12] Ibid., pp. 368–383.

They asked this cousin clan to give them a wife for one of their men. At once the members of the cousin clan took the matter under consideration, the elder women consulting with the elder men, saying: "Our cousin clan so-and-so asks us to give them a wife from among our young unmarried women. What do you think of this request?" The men thereupon considered the matter carefully, and if they concluded that the young man was worthy of one of their daughters they permitted the women to return on their behalf an indefinite answer but nevertheless one of encouragement. Thereupon the young man was privileged to make a present to the clan of his prospective bride. It was not necessary to send the present directly to her very house, because the suitor was not supposed to know, and usually did not know, the woman who had been chosen as his spouse. If the clan elders accepted the present they sent it to the woman's house. The suitor was notified and was then privileged to visit in that house. The woman's maternal uncles then talked with him confidentially but frankly. Finally they told him to return to his own home and say that when they were satisfied that he was the right kind of man they would send for him. That meant that he had been accepted.

On the appointed day they harangued him at length, telling of the duties he was about to assume in his new relation as husband. They made him understand the customs peculiar to the clan in which his children would be brought up, and they made him understand what position he would occupy with regard to the people of their clan. Finally they said: "You will find your wife in that house," or "You will find your bed yonder," indicating it with a gesture. She had purposely been placed there already.

In former times it was customary to give away the oldest girl in the family first, however undesirable she might be, especially if the suitor was not considered a very desirable husband, but if he was liked she might be passed over. Sometimes a young man of great force of character would circumvent all the finesse of matchmaking and would manage his case so adroitly as to obtain the girl of his own choice. It depended upon his strategy. After that, being a married man, he could go and come whenever he pleased.

The groom was expected to leave his wife's house before sunrise every morning until his wife became pregnant. He might then remain, but he must suspend sexual relations with her. In the interval before the birth of the child he was expected to build a house for himself, that is, if the house of her mother was not big enough to accommodate another family. He might erect it near the home of his parents-in-law or some distance away, depending upon his inclinations. Just before the child's birth the young husband was expected to go off on a hunting trip. He was not supposed to be at home on that occasion. But each clan had customs that were peculiar to itself.

If the betrothed woman eloped, and was not retaken before the next annual busk when all offenses except murder were forgiven, she was free. But if she was recaptured within that time the penalty imposed was very heavy. If the offence was committed within the same clan it was not forgiven and meant death for both man and woman.

When fornication occurred between individuals of different clans the matter was compounded by the clans concerned. Certain demands were made for the loss of the woman and these must be satisfied, but the abductor seldom gave the woman up. Generally the penalty was a heavy fine as an equivalent for the loss of the woman and breach of the common law of marriage. The clan of the offender must pay for the offence.

If adultery had been committed and the guilty pair were captured, they were severely punished. The people of the man's clan were called together to exact the penalty. The offenders were beaten with rods until they were insensible, and then the end of the nose was cut off or it was slit lengthwise, or one of the ears of each culprit was cut off or it was sawed with a dull knife, so that no one would be attracted by either in future. Mr. Perryman says that for the first offence both ears were cut off and for the second the nose.

In reply to a question regarding the punishment for the violation of a widow, Mr. Porter said that the violator of a widow was punished exactly as though her husband were living. She belonged to his clan.

After the death of a married man the clan elders assembled and, after consultation, chose someone from their clan who was in duty bound under clan custom to marry the widow. If he did not wish to marry her he must nevertheless take her as his wife for one night, after which his claim to her was extinguished. Then the clan elders chose another man. One member of the clan had the right to select him. Although the man chosen already had a wife, clan law nevertheless required him to take the widow. The old men said that the man who did not intend to marry a widow took her to his home and kept her there for a single night without having sexual relations with her. That would have been unjust, they said, if he had intended to turn her away immediately afterwards. Still, he could have such relations with her and then release her.

When a man married a woman who had a sister or sisters younger than herself, he might claim the right to marry them, and if he had done well by the first he was entitled to the others, but he had nothing to say about giving them away.

Education[13]

The father had no more to do with the discipline and education of his children than an alien. He could not punish their misconduct in any way, but he had such a right in some other man's family, i. e., in the family of the man who had married his sister. It was the mother's clansmen who might punish the children of their sister. The husband might sit around and talk in his wife's house but he had no authority there. He had full authority if he wished to exercise it in the house of his sister and her husband.

When children arrived at a certain age the sexes were kept strictly apart. This age was not definitely fixed, but probably it was when there might be danger that the children would think of having carnal intercourse with one another. The girls were controlled by the elder women. They had to sleep apart and to bathe in pools separate from those used by the boys. The girls had to bathe in streams of flowing water below the point at which the boys and men were bathing if necessity compelled them to use the same stream. The boys and men must not cross the path by which the girls and women went to the stream. The boys were kept strictly from the girls until they obtained wives or until they had passed the age of indiscretion.

In every town there was an old man who taught the children. It is implied that there was only one in a town, but it is evident that he was identical with the Ancient or Elder Man mentioned above and that he was a clan functionary or functioned over a group of related clans. He went from house to house, gathering the children around him and telling them tales, singing songs, instructing them first in their duties at home, obedience to their superiors, their mothers, their uncles (the fathers were not often present), instructing them that they must not tell falsehoods, must not steal, must not injure anyone, must not fight, must not quarrel, must not kill, and so on. As soon as they were 6 years old the boys were instructed to bathe in a stream every morning before sunrise, especially in winter. They were taught to play ball, and once every year they were "scratched," that is, the muscles of their calves and their thighs in front were scratched until the blood ran out in order to make them grow and to harden them. This was continued until they were 15 and it was regarded as an honor for a young man at the ball games to show his scratches in regular order on his arms and legs.

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[13] Ibid., pp. 358–367.

When he was 15 a boy on attendance at a night festival would hear a strange name called out several times and then his own name, after which some friend would come for him, take him from the shed of the women and children in the Square Ground, and conduct him to one of the men's sheds, and after certain ceremonies an old man would give him some token, make him an address, and tell him that he was no longer a child but a man. The boy then waved the token over his head and uttered his first war whoop, shouting "Hi-yo-ke-toh," the war whoop.

The object of all instruction was to develop a fine body and a good character. The girls were instructed in their duties by the same old man, but they were not required to bathe every day. There was a girl's game of ball, different from that of the men. It had a single pole and the ball was thrown by the hand at a mark on the pole, every hit counting one.

When a boy had been detected in an offence, let us suppose it to be theft, he was brought up for trial and the question was put to the old man, "Has he been taught not to steal?" The reply might be, "Yes, over and over again. He is a bad boy and would not heed instructions." And then, if he was proven guilty, he would be punished severely, generally with the "long scratch," a deep and ugly incision extending from his arms down over his breast and down each leg, or down his back, or both. These scratches were readily distinguishable from those given boys at the annual festivals.

But if the teacher said that the boy (or girl) had never been taught, no punishment would be inflicted.

These teachers taught young people about the laws and the penalties attaching to the infringement of them, for though the children would hear the laws proclaimed at every festival, they would not understand them, and so the teacher had to explain them carefully.

If it became evident that a teacher was neglecting his duty another would be put in his place. There was no formal appointment. The people simply sent for him to come and instruct their children. He was usually a medicine man.

Sometimes a woman would study medicine and become a doctor but no woman held any office.

Boys were early instructed in the ball play, as it was considered the best means of developing their muscles, since it was accompanied by running and wrestling. The old men said it was invented at a time when there was no war and therefore there were no enemies to fight. They called it the "Little War." The name of it was Po-ko-its it-ten, "Hitting at a ball," and sometimes Ah-fats-kee-tah, "Amusement." (Related by L. Perryman, December 14, 1882.)

CRIME [14]

The fundamental idea regarding punishment was that it cleansed the culprit from the guilt of his crime. Criminals carried no guilt with them out of the world. After undergoing the prescribed punishment the culprit was innocent. It mattered not what he had done. If the law and custom had been enforced against him (or her) he was thereafter, to all intents and purposes, as innocent and as honorable as any other man in the community.

If a person of one clan killed a member of another it was held that the crime had been committed against the entire clan, and it was the right and the duty of every member of the aggrieved clan to seek reparation from the other.

The Ancients of the injured clan formally demanded satisfaction of the other. Two persons were generally selected to carry the news and make the demand. They dressed in a certain way and put certain marks on their persons. They always dressed in haste. Before they reached the edge of the town they rushed forward shouting and were perfectly safe when coming in this manner. No person might then interrupt them. No one might touch them. While on such missions they were sacred. They then had a right to deliver the message, and no person could question them. If there was no dispute as to the facts, the clansmen adjusted the matter without an appeal to the higher authorities, by one of the following methods:

Atonement by adoption and substitution.—If the murderer was a man of consideration, a fine ball player, a valiant warrior, or a successful hunter, and an excellent man in every way, the clan of the murdered man, when they held their council, might say: "Had we not better save this man? We cannot bring back our own kinsman. Here are his mother, his family, his sisters who are dependent on him. Let us, then, save this man's life." Thereupon, he would be adopted to take the place and position of the murdered man. It was not always necessary for a prisoner of war to run the gauntlet before being adopted by some member of the clan. Sometimes the wife of the murdered man accepted the murderer as her husband after he had been adopted into the clan. In like manner, the mother of the murdered son or daughter might adopt the murderer in place of such a child.

Atonement by heroic deeds.—If the injured clan had lost one or more of its members in war with another tribe and such injury was still unavenged, the murderer might volunteer to become the avenger, in which case, if the proposition was accepted, he might at once proceed to perform his self-imposed task. To this usage Muskogee tradition attributed the origin of the custom of taking scalps as evidence of victory.

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[14] Ibid., pp. 338–357.

Atonement by payment of wergild.—If the murdered man was a person of low standing in the tribe, a warrior of no renown, a poor hunter, a generally worthless fellow, and the murderer was a man of high standing, and if the latter had a brother or cousin of the same standing as the murdered man, the brother of low degree was usually substituted for the real murderer.

Atonement by death.—If the murderer himself was a man of small repute it often happened that his clansmen consented to his death, and then the clansmen of the murdered man were permitted to execute the sentence. If the members of the clans interested failed to settle the difficulty speedily the matter was usually brought up before the Council of the Town and settled there. Generally three men, but sometimes six, were selected to hear the evidence. The fact that a murder had been committed was sometimes called to the attention of the clan by the Town Chief. In case the parties to the murder belonged to different towns and the clansmen failed to adjust the difficulty the case was brought up before the Council of the Confederation. But if a man killed one of his own clansmen the matter was settled wholly within the clan. No compensation or other satisfaction was made by the clan itself; in this case, the only question that arose concerned the advisability of killing the murderer. The friends of the murdered man might claim their right to take his life, and they might proceed to the killing; but if the murdered man was of less eminence than the murderer, an attempt was usually made by the most closely related clansmen to placate with gifts the anger of the nearer relatives and friends of the murdered man by repeating to them what an injury to the clan it would be to lose a man of such high standing.

When the murderer was a man of distinction he was executed with arrows, but the old women finished a man of no consideration with a war club, and a woman was also executed with a war club. Time was given before the execution to prepare for the death ceremonies. Sometimes the criminal was sent to a hostile town where he was executed by those who did not know him. If his own town decided to execute him it was done by certain officers who had this among their functions.

It may be mentioned as a curious fact that if the executioners failed to kill their victim at the first attempt it was held that some mystic power had interposed, and the offender was adjudged in consequence to be innocent. It sometimes happened that another circumstance was interpreted as involving mystic interference.

If a serious personal difficulty arose between members of different clans it was settled simply by agreement between the clans. All difficulties of this nature were settled by calling the town together. In case a member of one clan lost an eye by the act of a member of another clan, one of the other clan must also sacrifice an eye if reparation was not otherwise made.

With respect to a very troublesome man, his own kinsmen, his own clan would kill him unless, after due warning, he mended his ways, for they had determined that he was not worthy of life, that he would corrupt the young men and cause them to do evil, and that he was not capable of raising good children, for these children would be bad like him. If a man were outlawed no individual might kill him, but after they had related to him his evil deeds as a warning to others, he was executed by the collective body.

If a man or woman stole an object, the injured clan through its own spokesman notified the clansmen of the culprit. After hearing the evidence the accused clan was obliged to bring forward a return or payment of equivalent value. Twofold was the custom of the Creeks; they never attempted to deny the theft if they were satisfied with the character of the evidence. The clan as a whole examined the evidence brought forward to support the charge. If they found the charge true (and their own honor made it necessary for them to find out the truth about it), they decided what should be done under the circumstances. Sometimes in making reparations they turned the culprit over to the offended clan for punishment, where he might be whipped or otherwise punished, although his own clan could pay for the stolen object. But if he was a good man in other respects they willingly paid for the stolen object. If the clan made the reparation by returning the object stolen with a good-will offering or by paying the equivalent of the stolen property, in making reparation the clansmen declared to him the law of theft, pointing out the different steps in wrongdoing which had brought him to this culpable act and the evil consequences of the act as well. The restitution or reparation being made, the offender was considered just as good as any other member of the clan; his physical punishment had the same effect.

CEREMONIES [15]

A number of festivals were held during the year determined by certain phases of the moon. Anciently it was customary to hold such meetings every month to give and receive counsel and also for enjoyment. There were two principal festivals, a lesser and a greater.

The former took place in the spring, usually early in April, and in the south generally at the time when berries, such as mulberries, were getting ripe. The town chief notified his people, and particularly the medicine man, when it was time to hold it. Then the people assembled at the busk ground after dark and danced all night—men, women, and children. In the morning the men swallowed the medicine (pasa) which soon caused violent vomiting, but the women and children merely washed their hands and faces in it. This was prepared during the night, the medicine man blowing into it and a weak solution of miko hoyanidja (red root) was prepared and carried home for those unable on account of sickness to be present. During the morning the people all went home carrying some of this medicine with them to the sick who were not required to take the strong emetic (the pasa). The assembly was dismissed after the rehearsal of the several duties which devolved upon each one.

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[15] Ibid., pp. 534–613.

The great festival, called Poskita or Busk, which signifies "to fast," was held when the corn was large enough for roasting ears, generally in July or August, and at a certain time of the moon. Towns differed as to the time of the moon but each always held it at the same time annually.

The town chief first called a meeting to dance and during the night of the dance he delivered bundles of sticks of seven each to the Tȧstȧnȧgi, who then proclaimed that the "broken days" were made, i. e., that the time was appointed and the sticks ready for distribution, and that the people must prepare to hunt before the great ceremony took place. This was perhaps the assembly called Hĭlĭs-čĭnet-kita, "Medicine overnight," at which they took medicine to prepare their bodies for the reception of the maturing crops and the ripening fruits. At these meetings the same ritual was observed, an important feature being the rehearsal of the chief points of their laws, in the nature of an epitome. The speakers would point out in what respects they feared the young and unruly among them were going against the provisions of their laws, and the penalties that must follow such infractions.

Each of the principal men for whom the bundles had been prepared took one, threw a stick away the first day and continued doing so until the seventh day, when all assembled at the Square Ground again and danced all night. They could hunt during the entire intervening period or at any time within it. On the next day, the eighth, the town chief again delivered bundles of sticks to the Tȧstȧnȧgi and he announced that the broken days were "made" for the Great Festival. They threw away one stick as they began to clean up the Square Ground, a proceeding which generally took them not more than an hour, and then they went home to breakfast.

On the next day, the second of the busk series of "broken days," all remained at home making preparations to move to the Square Ground.

On the third day the people assembled at the Square with the game which they had killed already prepared, like the rest of the provisions, so that it would keep during the busk. That night there was an ordinary dance, lasting about two hours, participated in by men, women, and children. There were no important dances on that night.

On the morning of the fourth day a fire was kindled in the Square by the medicine man with the use of two sticks rubbed together, medicines also being used. The men then assembled in the Square and sat around, and the women brought provisions there and laid them down. The men ate in the Square that day but the women had to eat at their camps. The best of the provisions were supplied but no new vegetables, no new corn. If persons from other towns were present they were also invited to eat. At midday, while the men were eating, the women danced the Its-hopunga, "Gun Dance," each woman standing alone and circling about the fire. Before they began, a speech was made by the Great Tâstânâgi of the town, in which he rehearsed briefly the traditional history of the people, emphasized the importance of the festival they were observing, and informed them that it had existed from immemorial times. He gave the traditional story of the founding of the town and the origin of the festivals, detailing briefly the rules governing them. He called the attention of the people to the importance of preserving them because they tended to preserve their health and prolong their lives. He exhorted his people to follow their leaders and keep in the ways of their fathers. He also told them that this was the right time for the festival. These speakers always referred to a long-past home in the east where the sun rises. This form of expression was used even when they lived in Georgia.

In preparation for their dance the women put on their finest costumes, with plumes, shells around their necks and ankles. There were three leaders who wore terrapin shells. Three men were stationed in the south cabin, and when the women leaders were ready these musicians began to sing, accompanied by drums and rattles made of terrapin shells or a coconut filled with pebbles and provided with a handle. The women danced around the fire four times. Then they retired and rested, returned and danced around the fire four times more, and continued in this way until they had danced four several and separate times, making four circles around the fire each time. The men sang and kept time to the music of the drum and shells, and the women kept time with their feet and by rattling their shells. It took about two hours to complete this dance.

Meanwhile, after the chief had finished his address, a number of young men, who had been standing about a hundred yards away, around the mound in the tadjo, gave a whoop and ran away to the prairie to obtain the medicine. In about an hour they returned bearing this on poles and delivered it to the chief medicine man. This medicine was the pasa (button-snake-root) and it is a very violent emetic.

That night there was another ordinary dance by the men, women, and children. The men sang as they danced but the women and children only whooped.

On the fifth day no woman and no man who was not undergoing the purification was allowed to enter the Square Ground. The medicine being now ready, the fasting men drank it, beginning at daylight, certain chosen men bringing it to them. Each drank until he was full and vomiting was induced. That night the fasters danced and kept it up all night. They ate nothing all that day. Many different dances were performed and if anyone fell asleep he had to pay a fine.

On the sixth day the men drank a decoction made from the leaves of the åsi (*Ilex vomitoria*). This was taken at intervals until mid-forenoon, perhaps 9 o'clock, and they danced the Feather Dance. Then they ate, or rather drank, a thin gruel made of corn called sofki, the water and corn being simply cooked together. No salt must be used. They could now eat the new corn, but without salt, and melons and similar food might also be eaten. They continued to dance the Feather Dance during the rest of the day, but remained in the Square Ground and might not touch anyone who had not partaken of the medicine (pasa?). That night they slept in the cabins or on the Square Ground.

On the seventh day they began dancing the Feather Dance early in the morning. Each dancer bore a pole decorated with feathers, half of them, belonging to the White Clan Cabin, having white feathers, and half, belonging to the Red Clan Cabin on the north side of the Square, having black feathers. There were two dance leaders and all followed them in two rows, a white-feathered pole being followed by a black-feathered pole, and so on. The men sang while they danced. After this the ground was swept clean, preparatory to admitting all the other people.

The notes are confusing at this point, but I understand that the women now brought provisions into the Square, but nothing that had been cooked with salt.

Two men were then sent out to tell the women to prepare to dance the Red War Dance, the War Dance, the Paint-Up Dance ("to paint up for war"), the native name of which is Its-atītska. Both men and women painted up but only the women danced. The singers painted one side of the face black and the other side red. This was the "War paint." Just before the women began dancing another long speech was made telling of their wars, of their great warriors, and of their great deeds, in order to encourage the young men to become great warriors and leaders. If a war was on foot the warriors would be ready to set out, being now purified. Then the women, without any men, came out and danced this War Dance. The three leaders had boards made in the shape of tomahawks, painted red, and decorated with black and white feathers, and they shook them as they danced. They danced around the fire and then rested, repeating this four times. In modern times some of the women have had guns or pistols which they discharged while dancing. This dance was like the first women's dance. It was controlled by the Red Clans while the other was controlled by the White Clans. The great Feather Dance, however, was controlled by both jointly. This one dance lasted several hours.

Then followed a Buffalo Dance by the men, stripped naked and wearing only their breechclouts, ornaments on their arms, tiger tails, and ornaments and buffalo horns on their heads. It followed the war dance by the women. One man sang and the rest grunted like buffalo, and they stooped down as they danced. They pretended to paw the ground and bellow.

They feasted afterwards.

Then came a rest until sunset. After nightfall they began the night dances with singing and whooping—no war dances—only peace dances. First they danced the Old Dance, participated in by men, women, and children who danced first around the mound in the Ta̤djo and then inside the Square. It was followed by common amusement dances or "stomp dances" which lasted all night. In these they imitated the cow, horse, quail, etc. They came to an end at daylight and then all left for their homes.

Mention is made elsewhere of the Crooked Arrow Dance and the Dance with Knives. It is also said that they took medicine for four days while the above schedule allows for but three.

Late in the autumn it was customary to assemble the people for the purpose of performing Medicine Dances which were like those performed in the spring.

All these dances were not solely for the old men or solely for the ball players, but as well in order to give the young men and the young women enjoyment. One group of social units commonly sent a challenge to their opponents in ball-play in the following words: "Our young men have become lonesome for the lack of pleasure and for this reason we are sending to challenge you to a game of ball." At all meetings there was dancing and enjoyment for young and old, and when it was time to separate a speaker of known ability addressed the assembly with words of good counsel.

First the speaker would say that they had assembled for amusement and instruction and then he would follow with an outline of the general law of morals observed by the people. He pointed out the great danger to the peace of the community involved in forgetting or overstepping that law. The penalty for these transgressions was set forth in brief but forcible terms. Afterwards he announced any new law or regulation adopted by the chiefs and councilors with the injunction that it be carefully observed. He summarized the reasons which had moved their leaders to enact it after having given the matter due consideration, telling the people that their chiefs had discussed it at length. He admonished all to obey their leaders without question, for it was intimated that they knew best the principles of their moral law. The people thus received an outline of it and were instructed to carry it out.

Usually the kindred towns were invited to these assemblies. Their representatives were assigned certain places in the Square and took part in the ceremonies performed there. It was merely a matter of courtesy to ask them to take part in the ceremonies. They had nothing to do with the internal affairs of the town that entertained them.

In emergencies these kindred towns were sometimes asked in to aid if the town itself could not decide on the proper measures to take. Their decision was then accepted as the law of the town in question.

There is a note to the effect that the women danced on each of the four days on which the men took medicine, but this seems to be an error.

Guardian Spirits

Innutska is said to have been the name of the tutelary deity which came to a youth when he was fasting at the time of puberty. It seems to mean literally "What-comes-to-him-in-sleep." The girls are said to have acquired their guardian spirits "through the medium of remarkable dreams" and so there may not have been much difference between the two. Indeed, our text continues, "both male and female persons may acquire fetishes through such dreams or by adopting an object or a portion of an object which has impressed the partaker as exhibiting magic power, such as a fierce animal or striking rock, or an element of some weird experience." The editor has no parallel to this in his material.

Medicine[16]

When a person was taken ill his near kindred appointed one of their number to take an article he had worn to the prophet who subjected it to a searching examination (by means of certain drugs?) for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the illness. If he succeeded he told his clients the name of it but he himself gave no medicine.

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[16] Ibid., pp. 614–666.

Diseases were carefully classified, and as soon as the disease was known the remedy was known and recourse was had to a medicine man or a medicine woman. This person possessed a pouch, usually made of the whole skin of some animal, which was well filled with the remedies known to him or her. Some were compounded from roots, leaves, or herbs as well as pebbles, shells, or other strange objects, each of which had been acquired in accordance with certain esoteric formulae known only to an inner circle of the medical fraternity of the community. Each drug was prepared during the singing of a song peculiar to it, and it is added that this took place during a meeting of the medicine men of the community, but I feel uncertain regarding this. Usually the words of this song describe the preparation of the medicine in great detail, although in terms which are largely metaphorical.

Many diseases were attributed to the influences of animals, such as the bear, buffalo, beaver, and deer. If a person had stomach trouble it might be said that the beaver had built a dam across it. If he was afflicted with boils it might be said that ants had raised small anthills on his flesh. Another animal was said to cause diarrhea. If a person touched an eagle without using the proper medicine he would have a wry neck. Rheumatism was caused by a fabulous monster. When one sneezed it was said someone was talking about him.

In order to become a medicine man or a medicine woman a person must fast a certain number of days, must learn the prescribed songs, must prepare medicines (and charms) according to well-established formulae, must remain in seclusion at times, and must then use the medicines which had been thus prepared when called to minister to the sick. This process of instruction and initiation continued four moons in each year for four successive years. Each medicine must be learned in four days. Some practitioners would refuse to administer remedies for certain diseases and would send the patient to another who was regarded as a specialist in that subject.

Four was a sacred number among the Creeks. It will be remembered that the novice in medicine fasted for four days. One must sing a song for four days detailing the virtues of the medicine and teaching what it would do. Thus the number four appeared in numerous places. There were four days assigned in which to learn each remedy and four months in each year of a four-year period for completing the medical course. Again, a man might not have sexual relations with his wife for four months after the birth of a child. A sick man must use a remedy during four consecutive days. Mr. Porter said that certain herbs were collected one at a time on four successive days, and successively on exposures toward the east, the south, the west, and the north.

The medicine man or woman was exempt from all manner of work except the preparation and administration of remedies. The head medicine man of the town must prepare and kindle the council fire, although, in a figurative sense, this was supposed to be burning always.

The chief prophet of the tribe (or town), who might be at the same time the medicine man, had charge of the war medicines, which are said to have been prepared at a secret conclave of the medical fraternity. He was much feared because of his supposed power to cure or cause fatal illnesses. It was believed that he had one medicine potent enough to make the ground quake, another to cause the enemy to lose their way, another to make the ground swampy, another to bring on a rainfall that would obliterate all tracks, others to lengthen or shorten distances, another to bring on heavy fogs, another to make arrows go straight to the mark, another to transform men into certain animals such as the wolf (fox) or owl, so that they might spy out the enemies' camp without being detected, and still another, the greatest of all, to cause the warriors to have an aspect terrifying to their enemies.

This great medicine man would stanch the flow of blood and heal wounds received in war. The first thing done to such a wounded man was to have him eat certain kinds of earth, one of which was the clay or mud brought up by the crawfish (fakkitali, lit. "raw dirt"). This crawfish earth was also applied to the wound externally. Then he was secluded so that no woman might see him, lest one in her catamenial period should lay eyes on him. It was believed that, if such a woman should lay eyes on him, his cure would be impossible.

Grayson added that the medicine man could make a medicine capable of transforming the human body into a sieve so as to allow an arrow or bullet to pass through him without occasioning injury. This condition of the body was known as E-sar-la-weatch-e-toh.

It was commonly believed that a man who killed another was haunted by the latter's spirit and would become insane, meaning "troubled by the spirit," unless he was purified. It was also believed that a person who merely associated with an unpurified murderer must himself be purified lest he lose his sanity.

Insanity was treated as follows. First, four clear white pebbles were selected and placed in a cup of clear water. Over this certain ceremonies were performed and certain songs sung. Then the medicine man took some of the water into his mouth and spurted it violently upon the head of the insane man, also causing him to drink from the cup four times. It was believed that this performance gave the medicine man power over the insane person who thereafter was compelled to do his bidding and was treated in various ways until finally cured.

WITCHCRAFT[17]

One of the duties of the medicine man was to apprehend sorcerers, witches, or wizards who had committed some offense against the welfare of the community, using arts and craft superior to theirs. When a person was convicted of such an offense—by well-established, many, and severe ordeals and tests—he was condemned to death. He was then placed in charge of the medicine man. It was said that a person under charge of witchcraft must show that he had greater powers than the medicine man, thereby proving, I suppose, that he had been falsely accused. "He would try to show a great fire and then vanish out of sight."

It was believed that wizards could take out their intestines containing their life spirit and transform themselves into owls, flickers, etc., after which they would fly through the air to perform their misdeeds. Therefore owls and other birds of ill omen were held in great terror. The owl referred to is commonly the great horned owl.

SOULS[18]

A man was believed to have two souls, first, the spirit which goes with him through life and talks to him in his dreams and is called the good spirit, being named *inu'tska*, which signifies "his talent," "his ability," "his genius." It was thought to be seated in the head. There was also the spirit or soul of the dead person, *yafiktca*, lit. "his entrails." Sentiments, passions, feelings of good and evil, are said to come from the latter; thought, planning, devising from the former. There seems to be some confusion in the text between heart and head, the former being *fiki*, the latter *fiktci.* It was declared that the "life spirit" resides in the intestines and does not leave them until after a person's death. (See Witchcraft.) Some, however, believed that the life spirit could leave the body without bringing on death, as in sleep and dreams.

The term *hisakita*, "the breath," was applied to the agency of the great prophet above, but, according to one statement, was also applied to the life spirit.

STORY OF THE MAN WHO BECAME A TIE-SNAKE[19]

Among Mr. Hewitt's papers was a version of this story of which I have published five more. It was written down at Washington, D. C., June 24, 1883, perhaps by Porter or Perryman but more likely it was one of the tales collected by Jeremiah Curtin to which Hewitt refers in his report to the Chief of the Bureau. It runs as follows:

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[17] Ibid., pp. 631–635.

[18] Ibid., pp. 510–514.

[19] Bull. 88, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 30–34, 97, 154.

Two Indians, one of whom was named Kowe, went upon a hunting expedition and were singularly unsuccessful. Before they killed anything their supplies of food became exhausted and they had nothing to eat. One evening, as they were walking along through the forests, feeling very hungry and dejected, Kowe noticing nearby the hollow stump of a tree which had been broken off near the ground, approached it and found that it contained water. Upon closer examination he found a few small fishes swimming about in this which he captured in order to use them as food.

When night came on and they could not well proceed farther, the hunters halted and established a camp or resting place for the night. Dressing the fish and preparing them for the evening meal, Kowe invited his companion to join him in eating them. The latter, however, declined, saying that, as the fish had been caught in a very unnatural place, he feared that they had become in some way unfit for human food, and would have a bad effect on anyone eating them. He advised Kowe himself not to eat them but the latter was very hungry and was not deterred by his friend's fears.

At the time they retired to rest no ill consequences showed themselves, but late in the night Kowe was heard to groan and make sounds as if he were in great misery, so that his friend was awakened. On inquiring the trouble, Kowe replied: "You cautioned me last evening against eating those fishes, but I did not heed you and ate them, and that, I apprehend, is the cause of my present calamity. I am now spontaneously and steadily taking on a hideous form, an end which I can neither avert nor control, and it is distressingly painful. I wish you to get up and look at me, but I hope you will not be afraid of me, for no matter what my form proves to be, I shall never forget our friendship or harm you."

Upon this the friend got up and, lifting the covering from his unfortunate friend, found that he was gradually being metamorphosed into a snake, a large portion being already coiled up in the bed. He replaced the covering and bore his grief in silence. When morning came and it was light Kowe had turned into a fully developed snake of hideous appearance. He was, however, able to converse with his friend in human language and he solicited him to follow him back to a lake or pond of water which they had passed the day before. On their way thither the snake requested his friend to return home and inform his wife and all of his relations of the occurrence, and to tell them that he desired they should all come out to the pond to see him for the last time. He further directed that he should bring back a *saoga* or rattle to rattle on the bank so that he would know that his wife and relatives had come to see him, whereupon he would appear to them.

Having given these directions to his friend, he disappeared in the depths of the lake which they had now reached. The friend immediately returned home and reported what had happened to him, delivering also his message to his wife and relatives.

As soon as possible the relatives and many others went to the pond to view the strange sight, the news of which was uppermost in everyone's mind. On reaching the pond the friend began to shake his rattle and sing, calling "Kowe! Kowe!" as he had been instructed to do. Thereupon the waters of the pond began to roll and bubble and show considerable commotion, and presently an enormous snake appeared. Coming up to the shore where stood a great crowd of spectators, it laid its head on the lap of the woman who had been its wife during the days of its humanity. Its head was now surmounted by a pair of horns. It happened that the woman was provided with a sharp instrument and with this she cut the horns off as mementos of him who could no more be her companion.

These horns were found to have value to anyone who had a portion of one, giving him luck and success in the hunt. It is said that a song or chant something like the following must be sung before going out with the horn to hunt:

He coiled himself up
He loosed himself out of his coil
He straightened himself out
He went in a zigzag way
He glittered toward the sun
He disappeared in the water
The water bubbled.

On account of the virtues attributed to it, this snake's horn at once became a charm greatly desired by every hunter, and in course of time it was broken up into very minute pieces in order that its virtues might reach and benefit as many men as possible. I (i. e., the recorder of the story) have been informed by a friend who has a minute fragment of this so-called horn that it is a little red particle which will float if placed in water.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATCHEZ INDIANS

The Natchez have a tradition that they came from the sun, that the sun is a woman who has monthly discharges, and that one of these dropped upon the earth and turned into a man. They think that when they die the sun will expire, and that it shines only for them.

This origin story is identical with the origin myth of the Yuchi and it would be of very great importance if we could be certain that the Yuchi were in no way responsible for it. It is in keeping with the solar worship of both Natchez and Yuchi.

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Anthropological Papers, No. 11

The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

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PREFACE

The material for this report was gathered by the second Venezuelan Expedition of the University Museum, of the University of Pennsylvania, 1933–34. The field trip to the Yaruros lasted three months. Mr. Arthur P. Rossi and Señor Carlos Defendini of Caracas participated in the work of the expedition for short periods of time. My thanks go to both.

It is impossible to list all of those friends who helped the expedition in its work, for to do everyone justice I should have to include many whose names I never learned or whom I knew only by their first names. The Caraqueños were most kind and generous but the Llaneros no less; and later when I came in contact with the Andinos I found them no different. I thank, therefore, the whole Venezuelan people for their wholehearted hospitality and the facilities which their Government put at the expedition's disposal.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Alfredo Jahn, who not only put his library at my disposal but gave me an insight into Venezuelan anthropology. He compiled the bibliography on the Yaruro language. My thanks go also to Dr. Gumersindo Torres for many introductions and much friendship; to Mr. Rudolph Dolge, whose vast library was always at my disposal; to Señor Don Manoel Sanchez for hospitality at his ranch and permission to excavate an archeological site on his property; to the Phelps family.

The expedition is further indebted to the United Fruit Co. for transportation to Baranquilla; to the Venezuelan Oil Co. for information about the llanos.

The Department of State and the Pan American Union introduced the expedition to the Venezuelan Government and scientific bodies. I am especially indebted to the Honorable Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State; to the Honorable George T. Summerlin, at that time American Minister to Venezuela; to the late Mr. George Orr, Consul General to Caracas, who took more than an official interest in the work of the expedition; to Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union; and to Dr. E. Gil Borges, formerly Assistant Director of the Pan American Union. I thank also the Academia de Ciencias Matematicas, Fisicas y Naturales, whose members, in addition to generously putting their information at my disposal, honored me with membership in the academy.

Miss Tatiana Proskouriokoff is responsible for the drawings of the shaman's gourd rattles; my brother, John S. Petrullo, organized the field notes during my illness; without the generous assistance of Miss Paula M. Jenkins and Mrs. Elisabeth Ives Jordan the manuscript would not have been made ready in time for the printers; Jane B. La Coste read the proofs.

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved, which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American culture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of holding friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

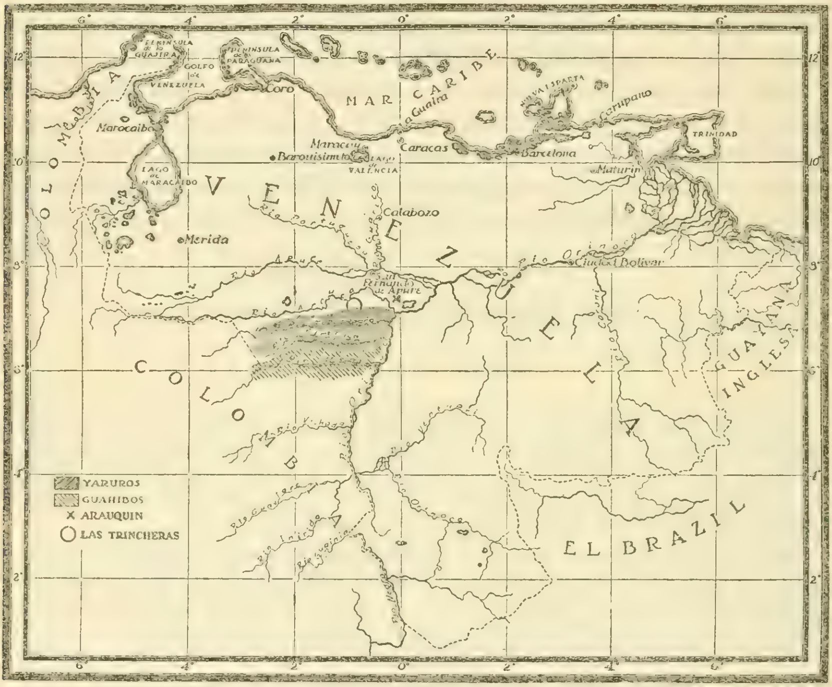
Peninsula de la Guajira
Peninsula de Paraguana
Golfo de Venezuela
Coro
Maracaibo
MAR CARIBE
La Guaira
Nueva Esparta
Carupano
Trinidad
Maracay
Caracas
Barcelona
Barquisimeto
Lago de Valencia
Lago de Maracaibo
Maturin
VENEZUELA
Calabozo
Merida
Rio Portuguesa
Rio Apure
Rio Orinoco
Ciudad Bolivar
San Fernando de Apure
COLOMBIA
GUAYANA INGLESA
EL BRAZIL
YARUROS
GUAHIBOS
X ARAUQUIN
○ LAS TRINCHERAS
12°
10°
8°
6°
4°
2°
0°

Figure 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they accompany the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry. They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in. They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs, perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family. The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash, nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things, is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof. On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men. Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand, she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky, listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west. It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guabibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also. What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood, medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All nonaboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight, and if not jet black, chestnut in color. The following table gives the measurements of practically every adult Yaruro met with:

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Measurements

EL BURON

Sex	Approximate age	Height	Sitting height	Head length	Head breadth	Cephalic index	Zygomatic breadth	Symbols refer to hair samples (unstudied)
		Cm	*Cm*	*Cm*	*Cm*		*Cm*	
F	20	144.5	75	17.3	15.2	87.9	13.2	F1a.
F	35	153.5	79.5	18.5	14.6	78.9	13.1	F2a.
F	35	146	75	18.7	14	74.9	13.5	F3a.
F	18	149	77	17.2	15.2	88.4	13.2	F4a.
F	40	151.5	83.5	17.7	14	79.1	13.2	F5a.
Average	29.6	148.9	78.0	17.9	14.6	81.8	13.2	
M	30	164.5	85	17.8	15	84.3	13	M1a.
M	30	158.6	80.3	17.7	15.3	86.4	13.8	M2a.
M	30	158.8	81	18.7	14.7	78.6	13.9	M3a.
M	30	160.5	81	19.3	15	77.7	13.8	M4a.
Average	30	160.6	81.8	18.4	15.0	81.8	13.6	
LAGUNOTE								
F	...	153	75.8	18	14	77.8	12.7	F1b.
F	...	146.8	75.4	16.3	13.6	83.4	12.6	F2b.
F	...	142	71	17.5	14.5	82.9	13.1	F3b.
F	...	147	72.7	17.7	14	79.1	12	F4b.
F	...	139.3	74.4	17.4	13.8	79.3	11.6	F5b.
F	...	157	79.4	18.4	14.2	77.2	13	F6b.
F	...	150.3	81.4	17.6	14	79.5	12.5	F7b.
F	...	150.5	78.2	17.8	14.5	81.5	13.7	F8b.
F	...	144.3	78.4	18.6	14.4	77.4	12.7	F9b.
Average	...	147.8	76.3	17.7	14.1	79.8	12.7	
M	...	162.4	84.2	18.5	14.4	77.8	13.9	M1b.
M	...	156.5	79.6	18.4	14.4	78.3	12.7	M2b.
M	...	163.9	83.1	16.2	14.7	90.7	14.5	M3b.
M	...	166.2	81.5	18.7	15	80.2	13.4	M4b.
M	...	159.4	79.3	18.8	14.3	76.1	12.8	M5b.
M	...	154.5	76	18.7	15.1	80.7	13.7	M6b.
M	...	152.	73.6	18	14.2	78.9	13.2	M7b.
Average	...	159.3	79.6	18.2	14.6	80.4	13.5	
MERCEDES								
F	...	153.6	81	18.4	13.4	72.8	12.4	F1c.
F	...	146.5	77.4	18	14.9	82.8	13	F2c.
F	...	156	81.5	19.3	15.4	79.8	12.7	F3c.
F	...	144.5	74.8	19	14.1	74.2	13.7	F4c.
F	...	153.5	77	18.2	14.3	78.6	13.3	F5c.
F	...	147.9	73.5	17.7	13.7	77.4	13	F6c.
F	...	136.6	70.2	17.6	13.8	78.4	11.9	F7c.
Average	...	148.4	76.5	18.3	14.2	77.7	12.9	
M	...	167.4	84.1	19.9	15.7	78.9	14.7	M1c.
M	...	166.4	87.7	19.9	17.3	86.9	15	M2c.
M	...	160.2	83.2	18.5	16	86.5	15.2	M3c.
M	...	154.4	87.7	18.5	15.2	82.2	14.1	M4c.
M	...	159.4	81.5	17.8	15.6	87.6	14.5	M5c.
M	...	160.2	82.1	18.4	15.4	83.7	14.5	M6c.
M	...	154.8	81.4	18.7	15.2	81.3	15.2	M7c.
M	...	158.5	77.6	18.7	14.4	77.0	13.6	M8c.
Average	...	160.2	83.2	18.8	15.6	83.0	14.6	

N. B.—Hair samples of children.

Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 34: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piutosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuono tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore aboorriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

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[1] See Bibliography.

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

MY JOURNEY TO AND LIFE WITH THE YARUROS

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

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[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms halfheartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies, but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interruption of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yaruros came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[3]

Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

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[3] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles, bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

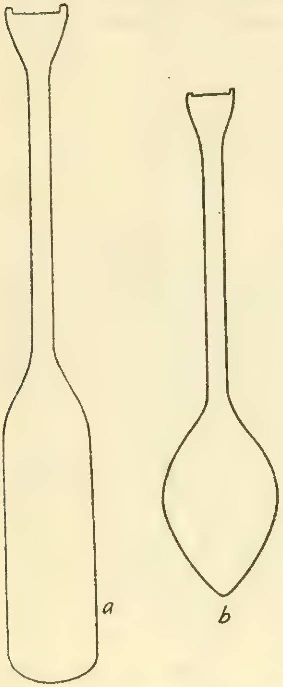

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*, with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*. At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn, is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

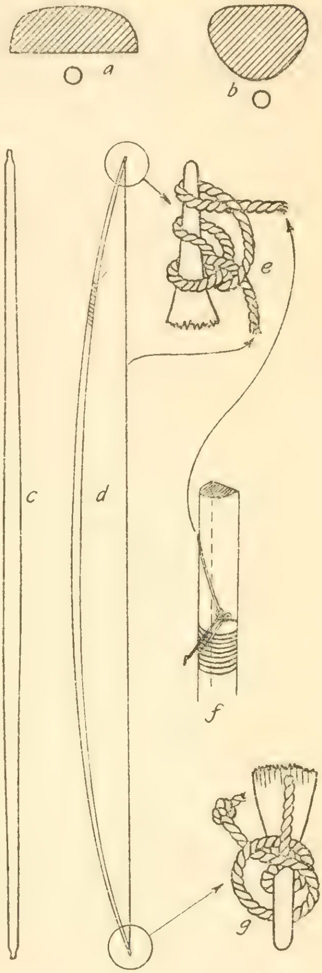

FIGURE 17.—Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*, Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

Fishhooks.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only employed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

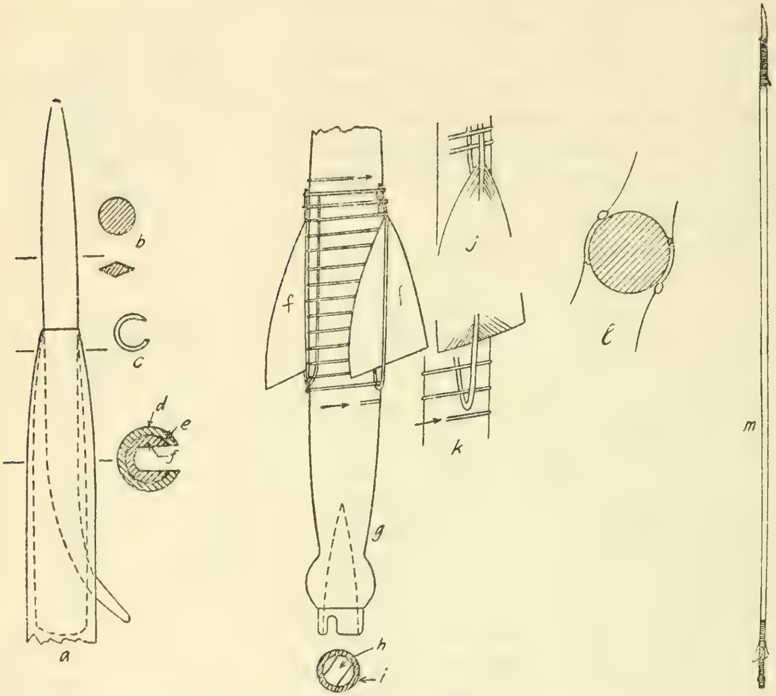

Figure 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

Digging Sticks.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

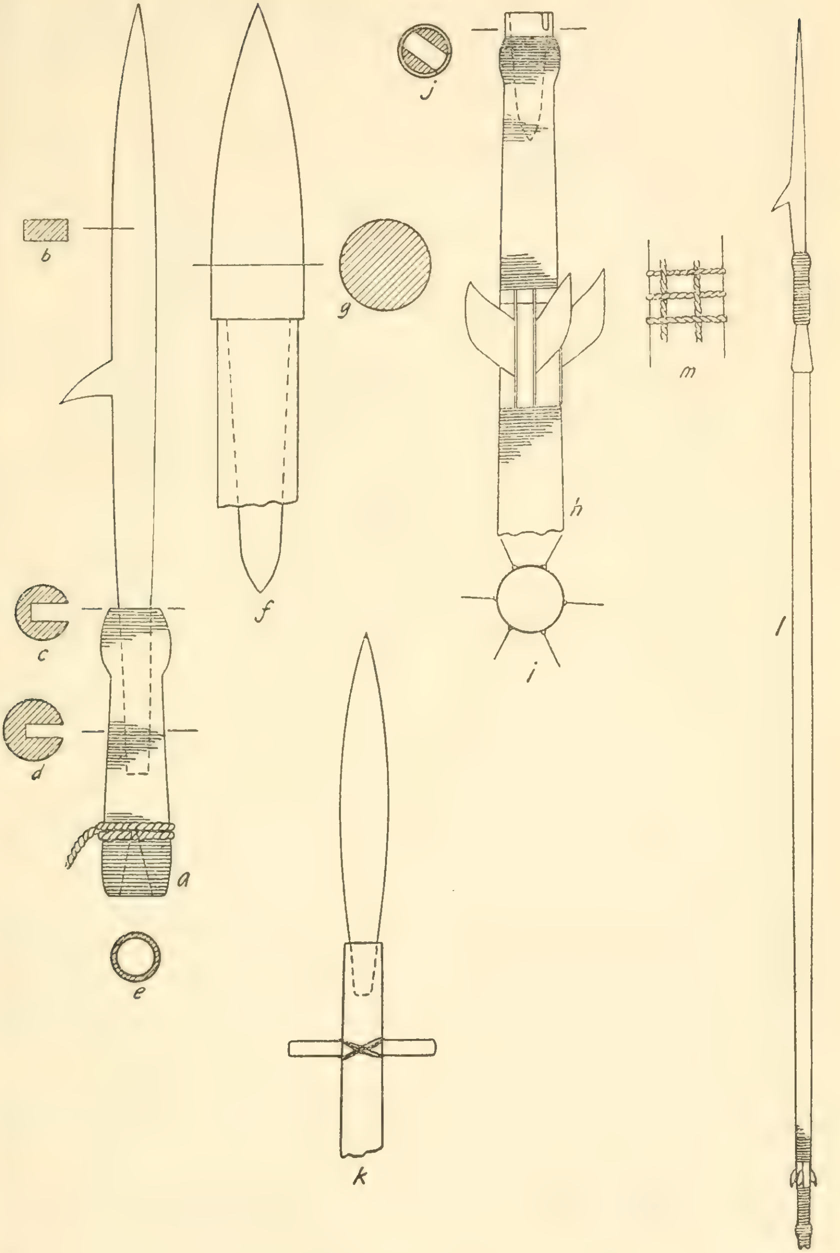

FIGURE 19.—*a*, Arrow point. *b*, Cross section of iron point. *c*, *d*, *e*, Cross sections. *f*, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. *g*, Cross section. *h*, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. *i*, *j*, *m*, Details of *h*. *k*, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. *l*, Harpoon type of arrow.

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

Mortars and Pestles.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

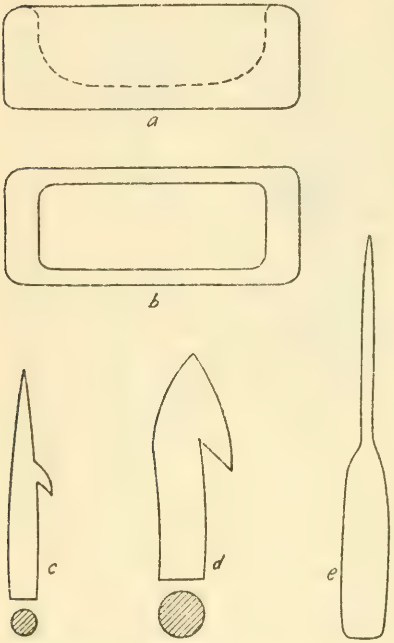

Figure 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

Cooking Ladles.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

Hammocks.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

Rope.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

BASKETRY.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

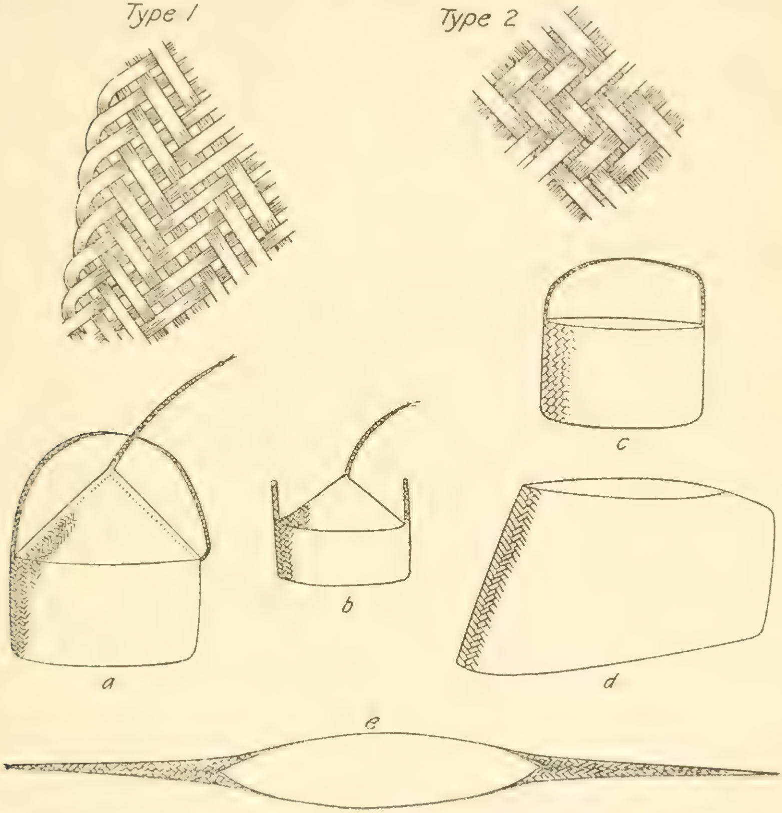

FIGURE 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. *a, b,* Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). *c, d,* Small baskets (Type 2 weave). *e,* Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

FIRE STICKS.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

CANOES

The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bottom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun, and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too nomadic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made, the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2;* fig. 22).

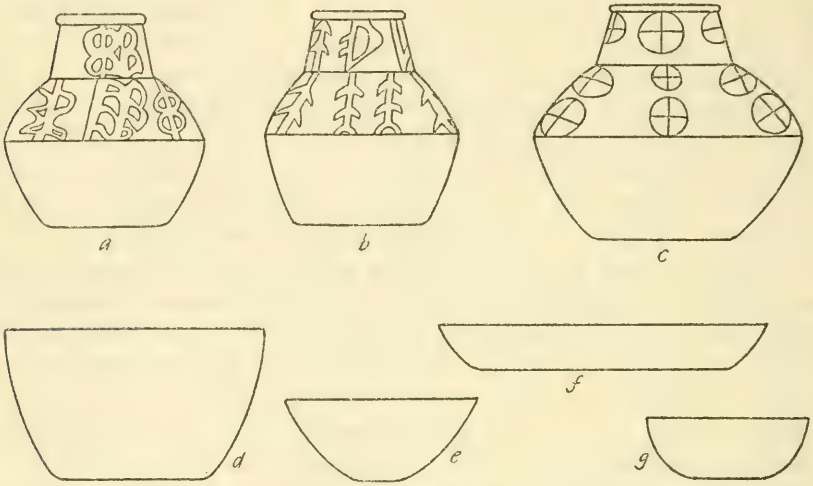

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a, b, c,* Water jars, showing painted designs. *d, e, g,* Bowls. *f,* Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

CLOTHING

Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1.* The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, *4*, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, *2*. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle, Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

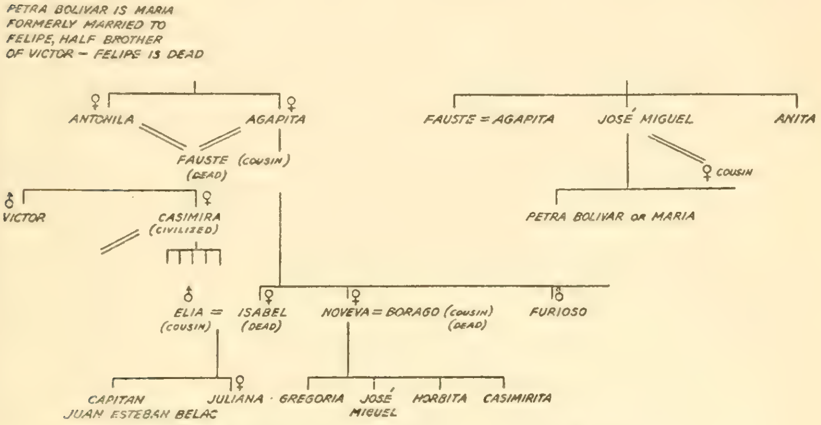
PETRA BOLIVAR IS MARIA
FORMERLY MARRIED TO
FELIPE, HALF BROTHER
OF VICTOR – FELIPE IS DEAD
♀ ANTONILA
♀ AGAPITA
FAUSTE (DEAD)
(COUSIN)
♂ VICTOR
♀ CASIMIRA (CIVILIZED)
FAUSTE = AGAPITA
JOSÉ MIGUEL
ANITA
♀ COUSIN
PETRA BOLIVAR OR MARIA
♂ ELIA = (COUSIN)
♀ ISABEL (DEAD)
♀ NOVEVA = BORAGO (COUSIN) (DEAD)
♂ FURIOSO
CAPITAN JUAN ESTEBAN BELAC
♀ JULIANA
GREGORIA
JOSÉ MIGUEL
HORBITA
CASIMIRITA

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burron.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "护hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother on his father's side he calls "hami." His grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as "hiateh," and his grandmother on his mother's side as "homa." It may be that these terms merely mean, as has been suggested by other authors in discussing relationship terms, "feeble one," the equivalent perhaps of old men and old women in our own language. (Fig. 24.)

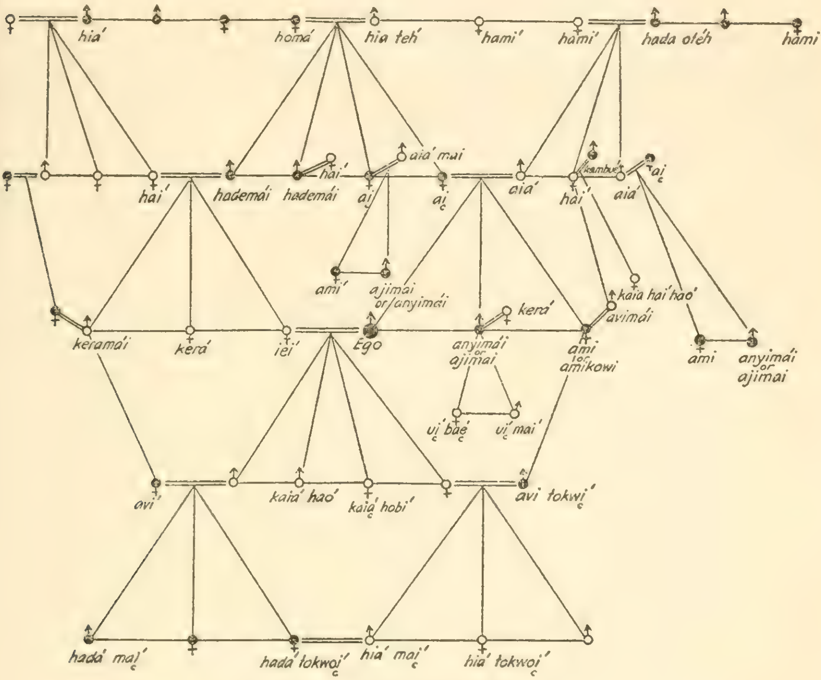
hia'
homá'
hia teh'
hami'
hami'
hada oléh
hami'
aia' mai
hai'
hai'
hademái
hademái
aį
aį
aia'
kambué
aį
hai'
aia'
ami'
ajimai or/anyimái
kera'
kaia hai'hao'
avimái
keramái
kera'
iei'
Ego
anyimái or ajimai
ami or amikowi
ami
anyimái or ajimai
uį baę'
uį mai'
avi'
kaia' hao'
kaią' hobi'
avi tokwį'
hada' maį'
hada' tokwoį'
hia' maį'
hia' tokwoį'

FIGURE 24.—Relationship chart.

Since a boy looks to his maternal uncle for instruction and spends with him a good portion of his time, he is also coming in contact with his future wife, who should be a daughter of one of the brothers of his mother. These female cross cousins he calls "gnohé," which was translated for me as the equivalent of "sweetheart", and his male cross cousins he calls "keramái" (brother-in-law), which is the usual term of address and greeting when a Yaruro meets another belonging to the opposite moiety. When he marries one of these girls, he refers to her as "ieyįtokwį" or "young woman." Later he addresses her as "ieyi kui," which means "my woman". Her sisters whom, before marriage, he called "nyohé" (sweetheart), now he calls and refers to each as "kera." On the part of the girl, before marrying the boy, she calls him "nyowuh," and upon marrying him she refers to him as "oį," meaning "man." His brothers whom before marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety, those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

Life Cycle

BIRTH

Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

MARRIAGE

The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

> The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[5]

The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

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[5] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

WAR

The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

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[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the unmarried do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother. Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

> Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

> been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpanzee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

Religion and Shamanism

THE YARURO WORLD

Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative material existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers. and praise the good.

CREATION LEGEND

Version I

At first there was nothing. Then Puaná the Snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the river courses, except the water. Itciai the Jaguar created the water. Kuma was the first person to people the land. Then the other people were created. Then came India Rosa from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the forest.

Horses and cattle were given to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so the horses were given to them.

The sun travels in a canoe from east to west. At night it goes to Kuma's land. The stars are her children and they wander about at night. The moon, which is a sister to the sun, travels in a boat.

On the land of Kuma exists a large plant of each species. The plants which are cultivated by the Racionales were first given to the Yaruros. The Yaruros cut them down in such a way that the tops fell in the land of the Racionales. The roots remained in the land of the Yaruros, but the Racionales got the seed and that is why they have bananas, plantains, maize, tobacco, and the Yaruros have none of those things.

Version II

Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the Yaruros do was established by her. She is dressed like a shaman, only her ornaments are of gold and much more beautiful.

With Kuma sprang Puaná and Itciai; Hatchawa is her grandson and Puaná made a bow and arrow for him. Puaná taught Hatchawa to hunt and fish. When Hatchawa saw the people at the bottom of a hole and wished to bring them to the top Puaná made him a rope and a hook.

Another figure that sprang with Kuma was Kiberoh. She carried fire in her breast and at Kuma's request gave it to the boy Hatchawa. But when the boy wanted to give it to the people Kuma refused and he cleverly threw live fish in the fire, spreading coals all about. The people seized the hot coals and ran away to start fires of their own. Everything was at first made and given to the boy and he passed it on to the people. Everybody sprang from Kuma, but she was not made pregnant in the ordinary way. It was not necessary.

Version III

The first to appear was Kuma, the chief of all of us and the entire world. Itciai, Puaná, and Kiberoh appeared with her. There was nothing then. Nothing had been created. Kuma was made pregnant. She wanted to be impregnated in the thumb but Puaná told her that too much progeny would be produced that way. So she was made pregnant in the ordinary way. Hatchawa was born, grandchild (?) of Kuma, Puaná, and Itciai. From then on the attention of the three was centered on the boy. Puaná created the land; Itciai the water in the rivers. Hatchawa was very small, but soon grew to a very large size. Kuma and Puaná took care of his education, though Puaná took more care of him. Puaná made a bow and arrow for him and told him to hunt and fish. Hatchawa found a hole in the ground one day and looked into it. He saw many people. He went back to his grandparents to ask them to get some of the people out. Kuma did not want to let the people come out, but Hatchawa insisted on it. Pauná made a thin rope and hook and dropped it into the hole. The people came out, just as many men as women. Finally a pregnant woman tried to come out and she broke the thin rope in getting out. That is the reason there are few people.

The world was dark and cold. There was no fire. Puaná had made the earth and everything on it, and Itciai had created the water. Hatchawa took a live jagupa (a fish) and threw it into the fire which was kept burning in the center of Kuma-land, a high circular pasture. The little fish struggled and knocked coals all about, and the people ran away in all directions with the coals. One part of these people were the Yaruros. Then Kuma wanted to give the horse to them, but the Pumeh (Yaruros) were afraid to mount it.

Of every plant in Kuma land there exists (or existed) a gigantic type, so big that an ax can't cut it. Of every animal there exists a gigantic representative.

VERSION IV

India Rosa is the same as big Kuma. This Kuma lives in her city in the east. She is either the wife or sister of the sun. She is the younger sister of the other Kuma. She taught the women to make pottery and weave basketry in the same way as Puaná taught the men. Itciai and the other Kuma look after everything.

VERSION V

At first there was nothing. The snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the water courses, but did not create the water itself. The jaguar, the brother of the snake, created the water. The people of India Rosa were the first to people the land. After them, the other people were created. India Rosa came from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the bush.

Horses and cattle were given first to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so they were given the horse.

The sun travels in a boat from the east. It goes to a town at night. The stars are his children and they go out from the town at night. The moon, who is a sister of the sun, also travels in a boat.

Version VI

A woman who came from the east went to live with the sun at his village in the west. She taught women how to do everything which women do. The sun taught the men. The sun and India Rosa are married, and probably were the first people from whom everyone has sprung. But the sun and India Rosa came out of the ground. They had children. Everything was dark at that time. The children dispersed in all directions. They became the different peoples of the world. Then everything was covered with water. Horses were given to the people but they were afraid and would not ride them. But a white man sick with smallpox rode the horse, and then the horse was given to his people. He asked the Yaruros to kill him and they did. Then his people killed the Yaruros.

Version VII

India Rosa came first. She gave birth to a son and a daughter. The son impregnated his sister, who gave birth to all humanity. India Rosa went west, the daughter went east. The son is the sun. The moon is the daughter. The snake came afterwards, and the jaguar created the water.

Version VIII

Kuma was first. God appeared. Had two children, brother and sister, and they married. There were no human beings at that time. One day Kuma said, "Let us have some people". So God went out to see about it. He found a man in a hole. He went back to Kuma, consulted with her, and went back to the man with a hook and a rope. A pregnant woman wanted to be the first to come out of the hole, but she was left to the last. Many people were brought out. The last to be brought out was the pregnant woman, and then the rope broke. The world was dark and cold. So God made a fire. A fish appeared and scattered it, so that each person could take a little of the fire. That is why all people have fire today. The people married among themselves. One of the woman descendants of India Rosa married a man of the new race and from them sprang the Yaruros. This was welcomed because the father of the girl said, "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

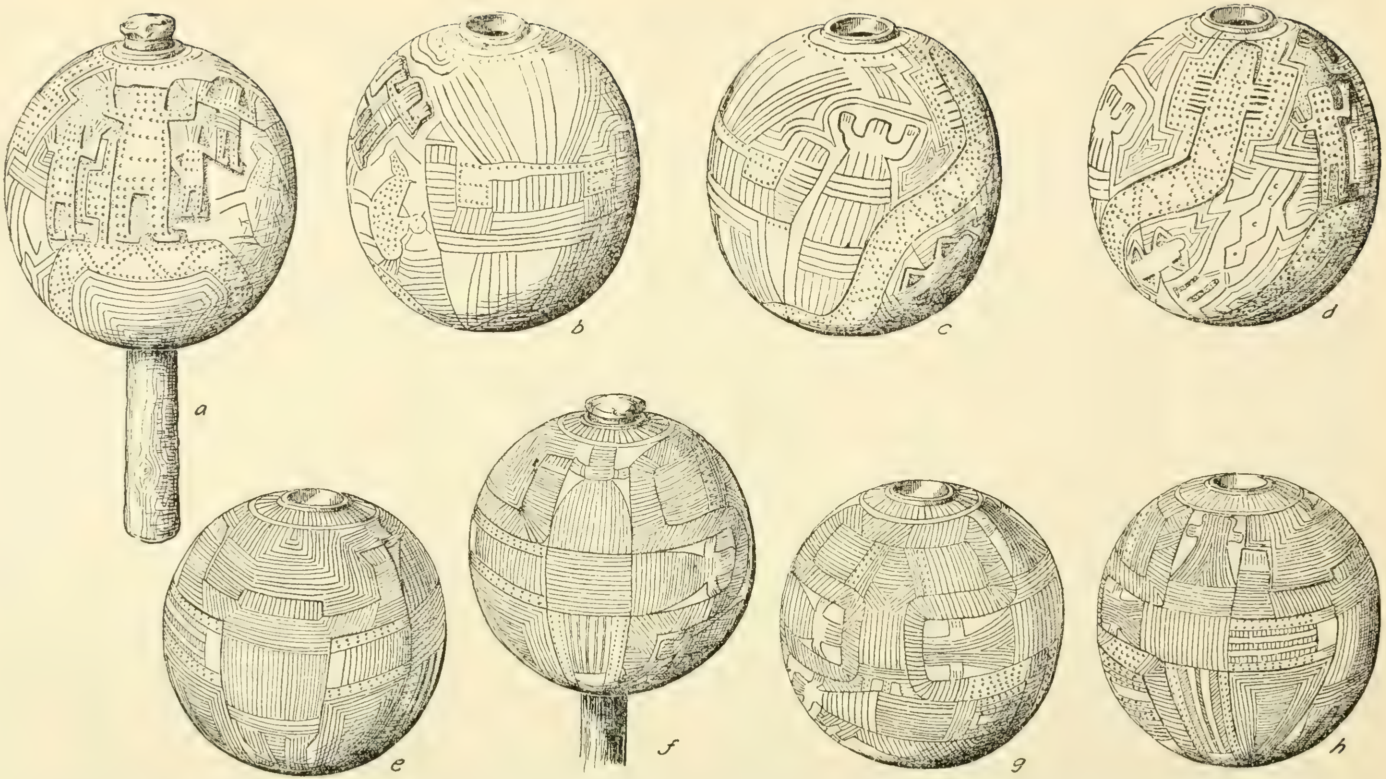

FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. *a, b, c, d,* Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). *e, f, g, h,* Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

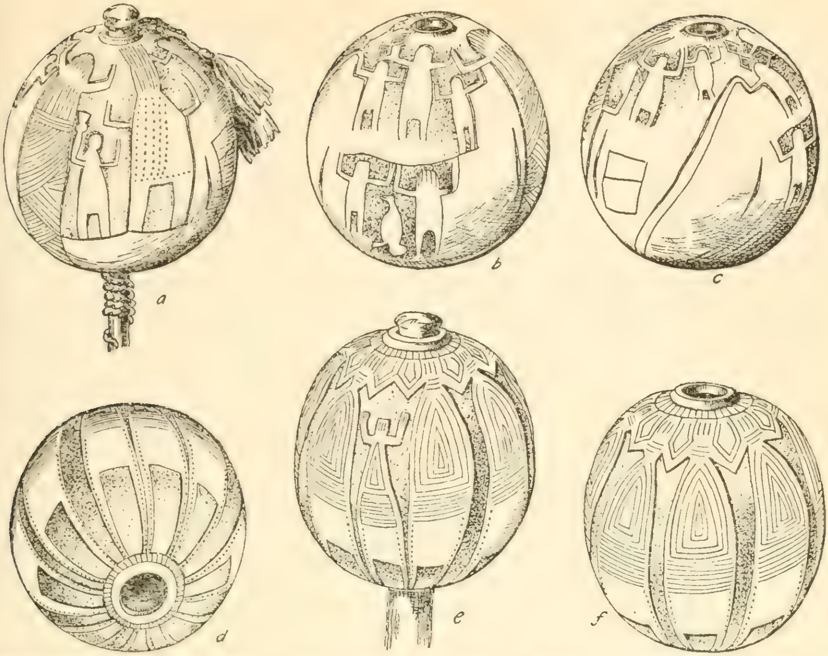

FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a, b, c,* Views of same instrument. *a,* The long figure on the left represents Puaná. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b,* The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Itciai. At the extreme right can be seen Puaná. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d, e, f,* Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

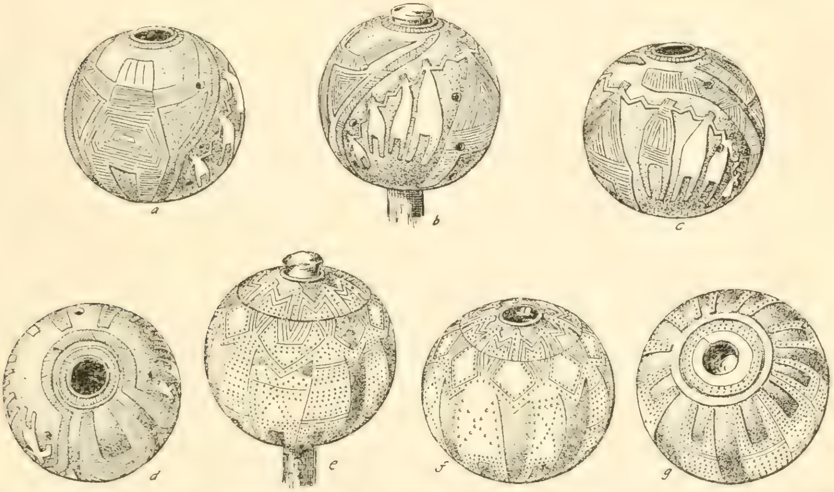

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a, b, c,* Views of same instrument. *d, e, f, g,* Views of same instrument. *a* shows Kuma in the characteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d, e, f,* and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

Everything was covered with water and these four survivors of the human race suffered great hunger for many days. Those on the tree ate the leaves, and the bark, and some of the wood itself. Those on the hill not only suffered great hunger but were menaced also by a huge fish that wanted to eat them and kept on swimming around and around the hill. Finally Kuma stopped the rain. The first day after the rain stopped the waters withdrew one arm's length. The people ate what they found on the exposed land. The second day the waters withdrew two arm lengths. The people had nothing to hunt with. There were no trees out of which to make bows and arrows, since everything had been destroyed by the waters. Finally the turtles began to come out of the water and the people were able to catch some of them. Everything was clean of vegetation and flat, but they managed to gather food enough to live. After some days the one man said to the other, "Look here! We are all alone. Why don't you marry my sister and I will marry your aunt?" The other replied, "Very good; but I must ask my aunt if she is willing to marry you." So he asked his aunt and she consented to marry the man. The two men then married the women. They then had children. The man's aunt gave birth to a girl, and the sister of the other man gave birth to two boys. When the older boy was sufficiently grown up his father told him to marry the girl who was his cousin. The boy answered his father that he was no good for marriage, that he was not able to hunt enough food, or do anything else well, and that he could not have sexual relations with women. So the man waited until the younger son was old enough, and this boy married the girl. They had children and they married each other. But there were not enough girls, so the two boys married the children of the snake and the jaguar and went to live with them.

The uncle of these children, he who had not been able to marry, and who knew many things, did not like brother and sister marriage. To show them that they were like wild beasts he changed the boys into a jaguar and a snake. Then he tried to change them back again, but after twelve days he gave it up. He was not able to do it. Then he called the people together and told them that in the future they should not marry their sisters, since marriage between brother and sister is practiced only by the wild animals, and that if they did they also would be changed to snakes and jaguars, and that he was powerless to change them back again. He told them to marry their cousins, that is, the cross cousins. And he told them that those who descended from the snake should marry those who descended from the jaguar. That is how the Yaruros, who are the descendants of these people, are related to the snakes and jaguars.

SHAMANISM

Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream, and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening, with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

Up to this time his son and his wife had been attending him, with Isidoro, called grandchild, but actually a son of a first cousin, Fernando, singing to the left of Brigido (son) helping out. Brigida's special care was the tobacco. She would light a cigar and hold it to the shaman's mouth, who took tremendous pulls on it, raising clouds of smoke, until only a stub was left. This was generally finished by several. The son would go to the left of the shaman and offer him caroto—crushed maize in water. He drank it in one suck, leaving nothing behind. Sometimes Matilde, the shaman's sister-in-law, offered the cigar. When necessary, Brigido (son) or the "grandchild" took up the song and carried it, repeating the same verses, until the shaman was ready to resume the lead.

A little after midnight I noticed that a man and woman embraced the shaman and offered him cigars and drink. Inquiry produced the fact that the spirit of their dead father had come to visit us, and so not only did they embrace it but they offered it caroto and tobacco. From this moment on the shaman was with us only in body. More and more dead Yaruros came to visit us, and practically everyone embraced the shaman and made offerings.

The singing never stopped, the rattle was shaken violently from now on, and the shaman, without changing rhythm or song, would announce what spirit had arrived. The spirit's relative mostly concerned would then embrace the shaman and make offering. They were, of course, embracing the relative. The spirit gave messages also. In this way all of the dead Yaruros visited us. The shaman announced that Itciai was coming, though he was beyond the dead Yaruros. The singing became more and more animated, almost frenzied.

Itciai arrived and Juan Bario told me to go with him to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as *the man*. We greeted Itciai by embracing the shaman. I had the thought of lighting a cigarette and through Juan offered it. Without interrupting the song it was smoked in the shamanistic or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me until I reached my country. I was a Pumeh, a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma's land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse, all ready for me to ride.

During this song discourse from Itciai about me, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, at the beginning of a new thought the shaman often would shake the rattle violently before my face and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people likewise sang lustily with feeling; a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general; namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have horses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, all foods and aguardiente; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa called. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink caroto, to go ahead and have a drink. I was a Pumeh. He acknowledged my acquaintance in my own land and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back since my wife was waiting for me, and had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of Juan Bario, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits.

About 3 in the morning came Puaná, expressly to greet me. He told the Yaruros that I lived on another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. Such a greeting obviously called for a gift of three or four cigarettes which I held to the shaman's mouth. He described my land as being like that of Kuma—high and beautiful, different from this. That my people were gentle "people" like the Yaruros, Pumeh. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, as demonstrated by the quality of the singing which took on extra intensity and loudness. Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

Finally about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, offered me a drink. I had to drink a gourd full of the concoction, it being held to my lips until I finished it. She gave messages similar to the others. There was a long spell when Kuma talked to Juan Bario, the son-in-law of Landaeta, who kept feeding Kuma with many cigars and caroto. Finally other Yaruros came, and the shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

Kuma arrived and said:

> "How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

> "I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement forward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

Art

Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

MUSIC

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the latter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1–2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

SUMMARY

The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

dįbu'h	mere'kidi'	kode'h
	speak I	I

areke'ni	keno'h	oa'	kode'h
I	speak	with	this man

hanau'	mene'h	kede'h
you	come	here (imp.)

meani'bude'h	kede'h	kode'h
I speak	with	you

^{n}yutaerembudene'h	ke
what did you	say

ontara'	ok'we
teach	me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I		
^{n}yuiri ko'deh	ero'	hętatih
I drunk	(rum)	much

hara'merikode'h	ero'
drink I	rum

harameri'mene'h	ero'
you drink	rum

harato'marikødeh	abeko'	ero'
shall drink	tomorrow	rum

(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato'	merikode'h	abeko'
I	eat	tomorrow

abe pa'meri'	kode'h
I	work

abepa'to meri'		kode'h	abeko'
(I shall		work	tomorrow)

amerikode'h	huraria'
I	was eating

hurare'	kodeh'	no'mene'h
ate	I	yesterday

ameri'	kode'h	tibato'	(huraria'
I	shoot	arrow	to eat—
abako)			
tomorrow			

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fino")

tainckøde'h	abako'
I hunt	tomorrow

gondeh	po	yeį	depo'h	Yaruro
There	came	forth	wife of Po	Yaruro
pume'h				
people				

ndo'h
when there was nothing

ndiah	mbuadedo	ninye	gondo'
	sun setting or sun sets	night	
jahe's			

kode′ pia′ndi′ I also	moi dą tco going to sleep
mbaurikidi′ hatci′ pau′h I go far away	djito′rikidi ko′deh I am sick

MAN AND WOMAN LANGUAGE

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
hurari′kudi kode′h ♂ (kudi with verb, kodeh alone)	hurake′ kodeh ♀ I eat
hambi′ pa′ kode′h ♂ I am working	hambi pa′ ke′ kode′ ♀ I am working
hai! ♂ (ri—seems to be suffix when man speaks) look!	tadehi′ ♀ look
muapa′rikidi ♂ I sleep	mua pa′ke′ ♀ I sleep
ngoheri aneh ♂ Let us go	ngohe′anoh ♀ Let us go
nguarikodi ♂ I have	ngua′ke ♀ I have
ntohi′nua′taneh ♂ Let us sing	ntohį′nua′tanoh ♀ Let us sing
hura′ria′ hura′taneh ♂ Let us eat (invitation)	hura′ria′ hura′tanoh ♀ Let us eat (invitation)
garimpa′rikidihe′ ♂ I am in love	garimpari nikwe ♀ I am in love
daba′derikidi ♂	daba′dedi′ kodeh ♀
tiade′ ♂ who is it	tea′dido′ ♀ who is it
yude′pende′ ♂ the woman is there	yude′pendi′ ivi ♀ the woman is there
ui jorokwa ♂ give me water	ui jorokwe′ ♀ give me water
tamatcǫ′humbririkidi ♂ I am hungry	tamatcǫ hambrike ♀ I am hungry
mboørikidi ♂	mbaø′ke ♀
hoį′ hano′h dibe′ ♂ there is a man	hoį′ hanah ibe ♀ there is a man
ndarikune′ hohedi′ ♂ I see a man there	ndakuni′ hohedi′ ♀ I see a man
nwuana′kwi′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)	nwuanakwa′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)
hanande′ bidi he (no) does not come	hana′nde′ kuni′ he (no) does not come

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
jamba′ hanamebede′ he comes to-day	jamba′ jadohandemebidi he comes to-day
tcuto′rikide I am cold	tcuto′. ke I am cold
tcuto′rine′h you are cold (♂ speaking to ♂)	tcuto′me′h (♂ to ♀ or ♀)
tcuto′me·h (♂ speaking to ♀)	
tcumato′ maibe′ ′hambo′ke I shall make songs because tamatcǫ′ I am hungry	tcumata′rǫ′ hambø′ke tamatcǫ
hụnaipemedekudime′ I kill you ♂ to ♂	huna pa′ kema′ ♀ to ♂
hunai peigne kema′ I kill you ♂ to ♀	hunai peigne kema′ ♀ to ♀
humbe pa′ ne′ she is working	humbe pa′ ke′ she is working
nyugu′ nambi anyikowi do you want to smoke sister?	jorokwa′ ui harapake parapia give me some water I am thirsty there is no dekia′ breeze
parapia′ manna′ breeze is coming	
ngua′rikode′ oi nguari′kodi have I jaguimę′ salt	
taį ka′ de ♂ he is walking	taį ka′ di ♀ he is walking
taį ka ne she is walking	taį ka ke ♀ she is walking
tiahą′·de tibato′? whose bow is it	tiahą′·di tibato′? (i. e., important)
hohą′·ndi tibato′. this is the man bow	
tcoeia′ pia′nde It is cooked, it is ready	tcoeią′ pandi hurariara′ udi!
tcunia′de′ tibato′ bow is finished	
abatcide′·tcadedi all right	abatcidi tcadedi good
here hana′wu·ghi! come here	here hana′he ghi! come here

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
mbaøwu yude′he′ go away there	mbaø′he yudehe′
eameri kude ainiką′ hinani I like to laugh much	eagni′k′e ainiką′
not ainikądeme eamerikude I don't like to laugh	eadenyiką ainiką
eamerikudi unneha′ I like the basket	eanyike unneha′
eamerikudi unne ohahe′ that	
yohahe′ this	
ea′demerikudi I don't like	eadenyike
tana′høpat′ Why?	(same)
nyutanide? how many are there?	nyutanidi?
henari yudape ikuri many there turtles	
nųa′hana′kwe hę′! bring me honey	nuahanakwa′ hę′!
nua′hana′kwe mo.! bring me bees	
hurapa′rikude mo hé! I want to eat honey	hurapa′ke· mo he′
jipe′h mbaøhapa anne′? When do we go?	jipe·h mbaø hapa′ anno′?
jambuą′ nbaø Now in a moment	jambuą′ mbaø′.
nyohe′ hanna′ he′ hannadie′no Nura come here a moment (I say)	
jipęh di daba′dame′ Where is (object around house)	jo′hedi′! It is here Take it
tanna′ eame′? what do you want	eake′ tibu′ kaiąmi gate′ku buy for me cloth
ado′ tanna′ eame′ do you want more?	
mo·=matahei, wasp (bee?)	
mo·hoį hive	
tiahą′ndiode jokoda′? whose is that pot (question)	tia′ha′mehambe′ pame′ jokoda′ whose is it a little working tinaja (answer)

(MAN SPEAKING)		(WOMAN SPEAKING)
tiaha′·de unne′? (basket) whose basket is it		tiahą′·di unne′?
kaią· unne′di It is mine mine basket	{Hą^{1}.de is possessive [as verb]}	kaią′·di unne
kaią kerahą·de′ unne′øde′		kaią kera′hą′·di unne′øde′
kaią	mine hą·nde	kaią hą′·di′
dibią·di	yours	same
hoa′ handi	his	same
ią′ hąndi	hers	same
ibią·di	ours	same
dibią ditcuni′	yours	same
ina′hari′	theirs ♂	same
ina′hą.di	theirs ♀	same
jorokwi′ uni! give me water		jorokwa′ uni!
jorokwi jokoda′! pot		jorokwa! jokoda! pot
he′dano hura′ria huį′! Prepare the food		Heda′no ike′ huraria′ huį′!
nguane meneh I have		ngua′dene menerǫ′ we have
nguadi hudi (man) he has		nguadne oderǫ they (♂) have
nguane hine′ (woman) she has		nguanei ineh they (♀) have
nguari ane′h (anoneh) all have		
nguari′ merikodeh nomene I had yesterday (imp.)		nguari hiniri aneh (anoneh)
nguari′ merineh		nguari hinirinene′h menerǫ′
nguari′ meri-hudi′		nguari gnine′ inerǫ′ (woman)
nguari′ gnine′ hine′		nguari on oderǫ′
nguato′ merikode′ abeko I shall have (future)		nguato′ gnine′ ineh
nguato′ merineh		nguato′ n·oderǫ′ (They men)
nguato′ meri hudi		nguato′ n·derǫ iembo′ (They men and women)
nguato′ hiniri aneh (anoneh)		
nguato′ hinirineneh (menerǫ′)		

birahanaii kudi kaią uni heade′nenoke kaią uni
bibewa′ gue dirǫ′ pą′ dekudi
mbe′rotonikudi
tcade′ venoka′ uni
ndøpa′ venenoką′
kode′ kedirǫ′ oke′ udi
kode′ke′ guaraenemeri tciai
hatciri anaike · ngnara gua meri
tcade′ mbaririrakwe′ ndila haini
vira̧′ nirǫ′ da dibaidirǫ′
vira̧′ nirǫ′ da tihoirǫ′
ngu̧odo dirǫ′ da hanairǫ′ tari hanairǫ
Jode′di pea′ruh dide′ huį′ duria′ paranime′hedi′ ado′tcemi·
before afterwards other

kanetci′mo kare′itcikania′me kaneitci′-nyu′anni kanetcini karenı·
karetciri ado′tiemi tcitcio′ni tarui′pa kania′me tarupa′ wyuani′
taru′pa taranih ado′tcemi! keį′tao taǫ mo′tcine keįtaǫ taǫ·
kenia′me keįtaǫtaǫ mo taranish hado′tcemi ta′u tcuni′· bainte′.
tomatcu′ huriarapa′ kodeh
I am going to eat because I am hungry

huríara′wi
answer=eat

tcade′dirȩ′ pumeh
very to be often left out

me′ paria′ pime

nyi paria pinyi

Janika′
sort of devil, living beyond Kema—causes sickness

tcai.nde
bad

♂
paria′pinyi oteh paria′pigni oteh tsunia′ oteh
Kuma′ all the people world chief (governs)

hado′kanemo′ otech paria′pi′nyi nyipariapinyi kuma′

hado′kanemo′ oteh Itciai paria′pi′me Hado′kanemo oteh

hatcaun patca′un pariapime haø haø Kuma haø′ pariapinyi′
grandson Kuma

haø′ hado′kanemo′ Itciai′ haø′ maria′no′ · Itciai haø
(born with Yaruros)

Hatchawa calls Yaruros "anyi"
anyi (brothers) (younger brother)

Jaruros call Hatchawa "aji·h"
(older brother)

Itciai′ called "aji′"

Itciai′ calls Yaruros "anyi′"

Yaruros call Puana′ "aia′" (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "ai̯" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią haø′"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro uni′)

Puana′ says "kaią hao′"
my son

kanındani hambø′ "kai̯a uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna′ diroką′ hambø′ piøji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua′kedodeh huraria′ pain une′ha′
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe′ dirǫ′da′ manna′hinidirǫ′da′·h tcade′hinidirǫ′da′ unihidirǫ
My children are living in the earth, come be born in my land young again
(Kuma speaking)

hoedi′ oteh
Smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Itciai. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana′ also.)

tcadenane′ oteh

tcadeni′
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie′tarawø′· oteh
take chupa cigaro
to Puaná (nambi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua′pigni′ kie′tarakaią ai̯′ kuma
addressing

hoedi′ oteh paria′ peine′ kieterawø tcadediane jadu′
(to Hatchawa)=good luck, etc., good line jambu′a now

minne′ kaią aii
my older brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi kǫ′bwi̯′
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho·h
Arm	itcihu′h	Hair	kõ′
Breast	maito′h	Hand	itci·h
Chin	ghudi·h	Head	to·be′·h
Ear	tana·h	Knee	utcatu′·h
Elbow	ma·tiy′i	Leg	tahu′·h
Eye	ndatco′h	Lip	tcabi′·h
Face	tcama·h	Nose	mbu′·h
Finger	itcisia′h	Palm	itcima′·h

NUMBERS

1	keriame'h
2	nywari'h
3	tarari'h
4	hadotcomi'h
5	keinetcịbo'
6	keinetcinikeriame'h
7	keinetcininywari'h
8	keinetcinitarari'h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi'h
10	itcisune'h
11	taropeh keriame'h
12	taropeh nywari'h
13	taropeh tarari'h
14	taropeh hadotcomi'h
15	keinetaitahotcunei'h
16	keinetaitahokeriame'h
17	keinetaitahonydrari'h
18	keinetaitaho tarari'h
19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi'h
20	tarsone'h
Many	ina'

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

North	marupano'h
East	jaboropano'·h
South	tcura'pano'h
West	tciaru'pano'·h
Earth	dabu'h
Moon	gupene'·h
Morning star	mbuae'
Sun	do·h
Water	uį'·
River	bea'·h
Brook	bea·hį'
Fire	konde'

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito'
Ax	hibe'
Babu	arii'h
Barbaco	para'
Boy (small)	pume'h (tokwį)
Bow	tibato', tcibato'
Cayman	nyiakanką'
Canoe	ja'ra'
Cattle	faka
Changuango	ipe'i'h
Cold	tcito'i'h
Cut	todeha'
Dark	baghune'
Deer	mbu'a
Dog	areri'h
Dream	kanehoi'h
Drink	hara'
Eat	hura'
Galapago	tcin dame'h
Girl (small)	icį tohwį'
Good, pretty	tsaimuį'
Good girl	teį tsaimui tcara' tsaimui'
Hammock	buri'
Horse	jai'
Knife	konumia'h
Large	tcara'
Long, tall	nqua' tọ'
Macanilla	bai'
Make	tzuapa'
Maize	yukata'
Man (old)	ote' mai'
Machete	hapene'
Night	ine ri'h
Paddle	taento'
Pig	obuya'
Pole (thin)	to/o huhwa'
Quick	hanape'
Rainy season	uį ro'
Rattle	tei'
Shadow	tcaivi'
Shelter, house	họ'/h
Small, little	tokwį
Summer (dry season)	hanno'
Sun	do'
Terracai	pudame'h
Tobacco	mambi'/h
Turtle (large)	ikwii
Thick	anna'
Thin	hubua'

Today	jamba′	Water (cold)	uį′ tcutcia′
When	kanemo′	Water	uį′
Wild, shy	naitca′	Yucca	pae′h
Woman	ieį′	Yucca (sweet) (edible yucca).	huruara′ pa′eh
Woman (old)	ieį′ tehi′	Yucca (bitter)	pa′eh kara
Warm water	uį′ kewita′		

ORIGIN LEGEND

Joro′ (irokwi—give one)	Kuma-unijoro′	maę	joro′	kodeh	tcune′ih	joro′
give	kuma boy give	speech	give	I	all	give

hụi′hą	nimbø′ote′bureh	maę′	a′no′neh	hinani!	jabuą
afterwards	speak everyone (all)	language	we all	many	now

tokwęi′mi	nomi	nyo	hudi′ka	nyo	ibi′	kuma′	hine·
few very	before	say	afterwards	say	to us	kuma	she

tcade′ni	ko′nøtu′h	ado′	kønøtø′h	maęjoro	kønøtø′h	mana
good very	that we live (on this earth)	more	live (yes) (I live here)	language give (words)	live (yes) (here)	come

hineh	Kuma-di′·	hatciri	uihana′ui′	mana′bedi′	ibe′	ea′aį	ya′
she	kuma with	far away	water much water	comes	us	weeping	mother for (my)

ndairø′pe	mana′	øni′	diro′	naa′	hao′	habe′ dirǫ	^{n}tohę′
yonder	comes	boy	born	her	son	a moment just, merely itself, born	is singing

ta′hve′ di be′	tave· di be	ate′ bureh	mana′ dirǫ′	ote bure′h
unknown with you (people)		among all	comes is being born (family)	all

sade	dirǫ′	mua′henidirǫ′	ea kni′	one′	uni′	nua′h	deheini′
are	well	is rich	weeping lacks	doll	boy	are	poor

jai	pututairą′	nua′h dirǫ	tcere′h	paria pa′·h keheni	tokur′
horse	saddle	has	silver	making	small

pariapa′	habe′ dirǫ	tię′ tia	kę′·tia′	tibo′hida′	jode′·h	kaią′
making	all remains	she will give name when he is born in her land	has name	goods are kept	this	my

hødi′	jode′·h	fa′ka	kaią′ uni	fa′ka	jai	kaia′ uni′	huraria′
is or are	this	cattle	my boy	cattle	horses	my boy	food

kaia′ uni′	taų	kaia′ uni′	tcade′·h	kaia′ uni′	hina′dirǫ
my boy	shoes	my boy	good		many

hidake′	handi′para′	nua′me′·h′	tokwę	pariapa′	jodi′h
waiting	for that	is rich	few	is making	this

tcere′	tokwę	hi′na	patce′tciara	faka	tokwę′	jai	tokwę′
silver	few				few	horse	

jambua′	tiogi	uįmbo′	manna	huraką′	knidanni	pume′n kode′
now	here	with a woman	comes	eats	feels sorry	Yaruros we

ote′h	uni′	manna′	hąhą′	puana′h uni	n-gua ke·nuą′	fakanguą′ke
chief	boy	comes	yes		I have (woman speaking)	

huratø′	uni′	fakanua′	tønøndi′	huriara′	hønandi′	g^{n}ynuku′
will eat	boy		what is (interrogative)	food	what (inter.)	cheese

hønandi	nambi	hønandi′	huo′	uni hą′	tcǫ′	ngohe′ a′no·h
	tobacco			for the boy	(fish)	let us go (woman speaking)

tu′kayø	^{n}tohinuą′tano	ero′	hanam	tohewa′nhapano′	witcotanoh
paint	ring let us				let us bathe (♀)

tibo′hina′tano	nambihe′	joroku′n	pumehami	joroku′n	nambihe′
let us dress	tobacco	give me	for the people	give me	tobacco

nienepa′h	dibeh	ai′nika′tø	heba′hur	heba′heba′	hebahųr
might	already ♀	we will laugh		married married	marry

tciadani	garapa′	tokwę nene	garimpa′	hebahine	tcadeni
give him clothing	laughing	small very	in love	marry (♂)	do well

tcadeni′	hapa wį′	jorohį′	tibo′	jorohį′	taų′wei	jorohį′
(treat man well)		give	clothing	give	shoes	

ero′	jorohį′	huraria′	jorohį′	ta′mbe	huratto′ni	garmpaį′
		food	give		eat	

nimoma′	konombi′	naia′hǫ′ru	hai′hø′	tcidø′	haihø′	aihe
	live there ♀	my house		hunt		deer

hambu′ tometcǫ′	hai′hø′	dome′·	haihø′	tcį	haihø′	tatu′timi
dead with hunger hunger		turtle				iguana

haibe′	garimpa′	mehį′	tcad ni heba į′	kode′	na′ia′aį′
deer	in love	woman	treat well wife		mother

kode′	ikidi	ai′^{a}m	kaįya ha′o	kaia hao′	kaią a	kaią′ dike′
I his	mother	father	my son	son	younger brother	it is mine

kaią hudi dike′	haba′rikudi	barike yude yu′ha	jabo′tca	abe′rikidi′
this is mine	seems far to me	I go there for a moment	wait	for me a little here

pumeida	ondi′ha amerikidi	^{n}goha′ diane	hana	^{n}guaha′rineh
The Yaruros	I accompany	we go (or let us go)	come (you)	go with me

^{m}baøtø′·h	‘^{h}ua′na pe.	gniene	pa′ri	gnuta′ipe ine·h	^{m}baø′pa′ne·h
we go	walk quickly	night	gather	what shall we do	

mlaø′ rikudi	ena′	tlatci′·	høta′ni	^{n}guoha′riane′·h	^{m}buatø′·h
I go	shout	far	let us go	you do not want to go with me	go far

habatci′	mbaø′dawu′·h	ha′nawu′·h	nimbø′	tcatane′·h	kanawu′·h
I don’t want	do not go	come quickly	let us	talk	come quickly

ume′·h	hanawu′·h	kerama′i	tainta′ne′·h	huriara′	aitane′·h
family	come quickly	brother-in-law	let us go hunting	food	gather food

toįwą′tane·h	hota′bure′·h	tcune′ine′·h	pa·^{n}chi′·h	cu′·hu′·ni
let us sing	all	every one (all)	women also	give to all

toiną	pavidi·h	hebawa′·tø·h	tanu wę′	we′nawu′·h	haba′rikidi
dance	say so	let us help	let us help these people	come sing	wait there (a moment)

yabu′tca	hatci′·vi.	hatci′ri kudua′	jambųa′	^{m}baø′	^{m}baø′ak i′
I go there (a moment)	very far	I came very far	to-day	I go	I go

kai̯a′	
tciri′rupe′·h	for my country
habe′merikudi	I stop there
kni′maia′	
tcuni̯a′di	it is ended
nawadape′ndi′·h	is last
jipe′·hndi′·h	where is it
piuji′n·h	it is here
ⁿdaudikone′·h	I don't find it
ⁿdąinawu′·h	look for it
ⁿgu̯adenawu′·h	come see it
ju̯a′	which
tanandid	whose is it
wana′kwi′·h	bring it to me
jode′·h	to see
habe′kidah	a moment
manna′di·h	coming now
hatji′·h	far
wenahu′·h	go fast
we′nahu·h	(note change of accent)
bagum′wu′·h	run
tcniadi′·h	finished
da′tukun′·h	I go see
wana′ku̯i·	bring me
awimąi′	nephew
hana′wu′·h	come
agnima′i	brother
a-mu̯′i	father
kahąi′	mother
ka′ami′	sister
kahąi	aunt
kahi̯ amu′i̯	grandson
kahawi′tokwi̯′	my niece
mbaø′rikidi′	I go
awa′	yes now
muha′rine′	come no of course
mbaøtø′·h	that we go
hida′ku̯i′·h	wait for me
męandimbą′ø	I go with you
merikidi′	
himu-baøtane himu	we go together
jabuka′wø′·h	take
jabubaø′wu′·h	go first
ⁿjoaⁿguabaø′bu	carry this
ka-ji′	brother
hudi′	he
heda′no	made
tibato′	bow
tcito′h	arrow (harpoon)
kodeh	for me
ait atø.	to shoot (arrow)
Kaji′rdi′	My brother
narapania′riki	showed me taught me
tcara	canoe
edadidiko′	make
kajiriki.	my brother
Kai̯aya′	my
kai̯ai̯′	my mother
idepa′	born
nia′riku̯di	I
uni′	boy
andi′kemerø′h	there
jaruperu′h	large pasture
huni	boy
hide′piarikudi	there I was born
uni	boy
araniki	there
kai̯′ ai̯′.	my mother
Mbøritari	I shall make
kødi	hammock
aji′repanababapani̯′a	my brother taught me to weave hammock
tcuni′	all
tcara apenikudi	I made canoe
kai̯ya′ maya′.	I alone
Kaiąya′	my
kai̯haini′	mother
kambu̯a hini	died
kodeh	I
tøkwi′ndu	I was small still
himbu̯′a.	
Kai̯aya′	my
ami′	sister
eⁿba′riki.	took care of me
Inijoronikwi	She gave me food
huriara′	
kai̯aya	
eba′riki	took care of me
ote′ piarø′h	afterwards I was large
hambø	my
kaiaya.	mother died

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Kuma talked about the boy (Hatchawa) to whom she gave everything. Afterwards everyone (the other spirits, ancestors) spoke. Kuma said to us, "We are few now but formerly we were many. I come from very far away. I come from very far away across much water. He this man came to us. A little boy and his mother (my son and wife) are weeping. Both of them are well. They are rich but weeping. The boy does not have a doll. He has a horse, saddle, and silver. I will give the man a name when he comes to my land. I will give cattle to him my boy, horses, food, and shoes. I am waiting for my boy. Now, I will eat with my people, the Yaruros, good food, cheese, smoke tobacco, for my boy. Let us go, let us bathe, let us dress. Give me tobacco for the people, give me tobacco. We shall laugh. Give my people clothing. Treat this man well. He will give you clothing, shoes, food. He will live there with us in my house, to hunt deer, turtle, iguana. Marry a woman, treat the wife well. I go away for a moment, wait for me here a little. Go with me. We shall walk away quickly in the night and gather what we need. Let us shout far, let us go. Let us talk, come quickly. Family, come quickly, brother-in-law. Let us go hunting, let us gather food, all of us, everyone. The woman also. He will give to all something. He says let us help these people. Come sing, come sing. I go there to his land very far away. I have come very far today. Now I go to his country. I stop there. Here is this land. It is here. I don't find it, I look for it, whose is it? Bring it to me to see. I am coming now, far, I can travel very fast, run, it is finished." (One of the Yaruro spirits speaking.) My nephew come, brother, father, mother, sister and grandson, niece. I go with you. My brother made a bow for me and an arrow to shoot. My brother showed me how to make a canoe. I was born there in a large pasture. I shall make a hammock for my mother. My brother taught me to make a canoe then I was left alone. My mother died. I was smaller then. My sister took care of me. She gave me food. She took care of me. Afterwards my mother died.

BUILDING A CANOE

Icara′	ghia′tune wu′·h	kʷa hu′	ngua′hę	torena′	tcu′ruwøh
canoe	I open	burn it	chikuria	canoe	plane it on outside

kuavø′h	mbatci′	gua wų′·h	mbatci′ⁿdi	tcinįa′	ado′	Kanemo′
burn it	ready	plane it inside	is ready	is ended	move	other

hapapa′rikidi′	kaiąya′	kaįyami	ab ko′	de′rikudi′	nde′hano
is making	my	for me	tomorrow	it is so	throw down (knocked down)

habako′	mbųi′tcį	tcaratokwø′	tcarato′·h	mbąø′ har′rikidi
tomorrow	small	small canoe	(the canoe tree)	I go away

tcarahi′	tcunaru′h	mbaø′rikidi	tcarupe′mu	mbaø
canoe	is finished	I go away	yonder	I go away

garu′paime′rikidi′	hamba′rikidi′	konroi′ merikidi	gnųa′rindie′.
I come back	I am here still	I live where I go	two days

mannaime′dikude′	Hatcihorikidi	habe′ merikidi	honi′pe
I come	I go far	I delay much	there where I go

kau ji′yu′pųę′	kaią pume′h	na′bari kudi′	ka ami′aparikidi
my older brother	my family	I am here	I have my sister

kaįa′aya′	kaįa′ya hade′h	kaįaya	kai′	kaiąya′	oma′ kaią′ya
my father	my uncle (elder)	my	aunt		granddaughter

kera′	kaiąya	Habi′	tokwį′	kaį′rke′rami	kaiąya	hadimui
sister-in-law		little girl		my brother-in-law		younger uncle

hiamųi	kaįyaba′	ebane	Kaįya ba′	hawi mi′	eba′	joro′bøhę′
grandchild (♂)	my girl child	is married	my girl	husband	married	give to her

huraria′	joro′bøhę′	tibo′	ebabuhe′ ♂	tcaidani′	———
food	give her	goods	marry her (ebahį[♀])		do not do harm

hapade	tcohedi	tibo′	naia′ tibo′	joha′di	tcere	garempa′
	take ♂	goods				

kodeh	kaiąieį′	garempa′	tcade′kaią′iaį′	turusi	hadi	^{tl}jobedi
	(y)			necklace	take	take

turusi′	johedi′	mahu′	johe′di	tahe′	b———	mbaurikidi
		plate				I am going away

ha′deme mbaunkidi keramaį mbaunkidi animaį baun hidi

aiamaį′	mbauke	kaį aį	mbaukø′hømatį′	hąhą′	hąhą′
	good bye	my mother			

hą′hą′	na—paru′	mana′i	ume′.
	when are	you	coming

Kuma′	jorohį	ebahį	tune′ine′	ebai i į′	eba′imeneno′
(speaking)	give	marry	go away all	is married	married

tca·ni′	ebai′	hati′ baø	mbauta′no′·	hati	tokwę′ime
		far away go	of course (♀)		very few

hunihą′tcin	dabu′ide′	kono	kaįa′ uni	tcuna′ne′	tcuini′ha′
is land of the boy		live	my boy	go away all	all

jode′	tcuni	tcin	kaį′a′ uni·	mbau′ke ♀	ayumaį′	mbauke′	ayamaį′
this	all this	land					

mbau′ke ayamaį′ mbauki′ ademaį hademaį mbauke′

nαparu′	mbaumeneno′	habe′ke	habeko	baune	naparu′baubim
when	let us go	not yet	let us go	tomorrow	when the others go ♂

mbaukeda′	hiama′i	mbaukeda	nimaį′	mbaukeda′	Hø imaį′
I go away ♀	nephew	I am going	son		uncle

ma′naignike′ abeka	namparumana	kaia ąi′	mbaunikide	u
I shall come tomorrow	when you come	my mother	I go away	

mbau′	mbaurikide	keremai	mbaunkide	hiamą′i	mbaunkide
		brother-in-law			

kambue′	jorokwi′	umayo′	jorokwi′	adema′i	ticiparaghi
relative		fishhook		uncle	harpoon arrow

jorokwi′	mbauke′	agnikowi	mbauke′	amia′į	mbaunkidi′
	I go away ♀	sister		older sister	

niama′i	mbaunkide′	kambue′.	hąhą!	namparu′mana	kambu′e
nephew		relative		when you come	relative

taranihdoru	mana′ime′·	mbaun′kideh	hadimą′i	mbaube′
three days	come I		uncle	I am going

auitokweį′·	Hąhą!	Hąhą!	Jipę′	bau′	hadamai′	mbaurikide
niece (♂)			where	are you going	grandfather	

atdgi′.	Manankideh	gnumairu′h.	Gnǫmbuwę′	kaįa	aia′maį.
older brother ♂	I come	next year	tell him ♂	my	father

Hą′hą′	nyǫbuwę′	hanato′di	kaiomaį.	kaiaabi′	gnǫbuwę′
		that he come	my father	my daughter ♂ (younger)	Tell him

habeko′hana	tødi′	hødikodi′.	tananabui	tcarana′h	kni′ daiya′
to come	tomorrow	it is I	how are you going ♂	canoe	poor fellow

kudikude′	naparø′hu	hadatchua′mi	dø′	kni′ daiya′	tana′h
it is I	when are you going	four	days	poor fellow	whose son

Kodeh	ua′pa′rikide	gnakanką	ti′puti′pu′	uapankideh·	hą′hą′!
am I	I am afraid	cayman	casiarel	I am afraid	

køtøgnio′d	Hąhą′!	abarikide	jiabuą′hu′inne′	høtuynioką′yahade′
go there		a moment	now I say to him	goes there my mother

animaį	nyo′i′ni	manarikidi	kodeh	manarineh	hinade
uncle nephew	said he	I come	♂	you come	with much people

tanarį do′ro	karani′	tohęnųa′—	diane ♀	baghariene′	otabure′h
3 days	deep hole	we	will sing ♂	go	all

bø·ane′h	payǫ	bau′rineh	beru′pe′	hǫrupę	gnuią′	tcumai
cattle	yes	you	to my town	I go home	where	soup

handi′	adomine′h	kni	bau′de	kni	kodeh	høkaniaine	doh
I don't know	you	no	I go away	no	I	meet one	sun

kodeh	butio′anah	gnumahirøh	kodeh	mana′hideh	gohe′ano′
I		next year		comes here	go we

guatoni	tcarana′	tana′	mbaupa′no	autabu′reh	gohadine′
we will {carry take	canoe	where	go we	all	gather the people

anyime′	mbautane′	keriame′h	dipe′h	berupe′h	oru′pe′h
brother	we will go	brother-in-law	which town	for the town	few born

gohe′da	knahura′aneh	tambe′h	paeh	parøtuna′h	oe
work	here eat we	manioc		topacho (a banana)	maize

Hą′hą′	jipeh	hurarapa′.	Muapa′	jambųa′	mųa′	høe′napi
	changuango	I eat now	I sleep now	I come	sleep	quickly

ben	mbuataneh	dame′h	ateø′h	tcǫ′	hambu′rakedeh
you	we will go		to shoot	fish	I am dead

tametcǫ.	mBau′taneh	ha′diameh	mbaurikideh	jambuą′.
with hunger	we go	uncle	I go	now—

Joro′kwe	ajima′i	jagu′ime.	Dede	nua′aikideh	jagueme.
give me	older brother	salt	yes	I have	salt

clean							
Quepe	ku′neh	habe′	anǫda′	nienta′ni	do	tanaruh	kono′pa.
I have	cleaned it already	we	will stay	how many	days	where	we will live ♂

Huriara′	apa′rine′h	konde′h	jorokwi′	huriorokwi	ambu′rikidi
food	preparing (making)	we five	give me	come eat	I am thirsty

		where go you			
ui′	hi′—kna′	je′pembaømane′	mbaurikidi	tu′ararupǫ.	Jipę′!
water.	here it is	where are you going	I go	with canoe	where

dįudi′pe·	hi khądį	gnotarikø	dime.	Napau′—	une	hade′mai
it is there	here he is	I say		It is	his	my uncle

hado'	jo'de'h	keriami	hado'	aiya'maį'	hado'	naia'ai'kaiąai'
companion	this	brother-in-law	companion	my father		his mother my mother

adonia'į	ami'	jorokwa	ami'	kna'	jorokwe	ghonehį'mua'
(which is the woman)	sister	give me	sister	this	give me	I say to her ♂ sleep

høl	dai'na·	Jorowį'	jo'rokwa	jiakoda'	jorokwa	da nah
house	take across	give me ♀	♂	pot		take across

agnimą'i	ado'	tanangwameado	mau	gnobireku'di'	kni
brother	move	he that has more	sleep	I say ♀	no

nua'de	hana'bø	we'napi wu'h	tana'dedi	naⁿdedio	bua'di.
I don't have	that he come	that he goes quickly	that they go		

we'napuwuh	mana'idi·	tcara a'na	dirǫ'	jo'	Ha!	Hą!	hudimua
							he sleeping

jagųa me	nive'	Jorokwi	jaguime'	tana ua'	tibo'	gate'
salt				that he carries	goods	I bought

kode'	mburina'	gate'bu·mburina'.	Jorokwi	ero'	gate'
	for a hammock	I bought for hammock			

jorokwi	ømua'yo'	he'na'ni	gate'.	Patciutciarą'	kainą
give me	fishhook	much	I bought	hat	my

jorokwe'	tciana'kø'·	høbø	kaįyąbehø	hatci'de	kani'	hatci'dedi
	sweet (sugar)		for the boy	far away	not	very far away

hetati'	nguą'	nive'·	padiø'	nguą'(e'di')	mbarikidi	hø øpa'kode'
caroto (a drink)	has	rational (civilized)	that yes	he has (positive expression)		I fear

nivę'	høhøpa'	huritį'	gohau'ane'	huritsį'	nimbøⁿtsao
	I go walking	I am going to eat	yes let us go	eat	talking

ibi'ąmae'	tamuo'	tamuo'	Handi	gno'mane	Gnǫhe'	hahi
alone language	is true	is true	it is so	what you say	look!	aunt

høde'mene	dede.	hąhą	jorokwa'	ta'eh	totcio'gnua'
you do not go ♂	yes			calabash	fruit I have

totuio'	buriabura	Nafe'	buriabura'	Hę' ea'	tokwęne ea'
f	——black	coffee	black	weeping	little boy

ea'di'	tokwę·'di	jorokwęhuį'.	Mbaupa	anoda'	mperupe'·
weeping saying	little one	give me water	I go away	we (same as anoneh)	for home

øun	weinepi'	habedoru'	adomine'	naparawbøh	tiambią' bøh
you go	further	early	you also	when are you going	now I go

kodeh.	Wa'na'pi·mana	mboeya'	huriara'hę'	johe'da'	huriara'di
	come quickly	pig	food give him	exhaust	here is the food

huratane.	wanapi	tcunø'	otawu'reh	goharine'	hurapa'
let us eat	quickly	all	everyone	let us go	to eat

tcade'mane	paǫo'	tcade'·	ado'	hødinǫ'	habadine'	abe'.
thus it is good	that yes	very good (very tasty, fine)	move	give	a moment	wait

Nomene'	naparu'	nomene.	tciare'h	adjimąi	mbaø'	adji'mu'
yesterday	when			brother	I go away	brother

pa′di·	tacuma	we′	buria′buria′	kafe′	buria′buria′	arapa′
hat yes	make	soup	black	coffee	black	to drink

joro′kwe	(nuą′)	jorokwe′	ado	mbatci′	jorokwe	tibo′hoa′rią′
give me	a	particular fish		it is good		soap

jorokwe·	nimito′·h	jorokwe′	bate′a	høri′bø	høta′ne·
	comb		something to wash clothes	get ready	that we go

djabuamana	bea′	kønidekudi	jito′rikude	jito′iketohe′	gaipa′
now he comes	said	I cannot	I am sick	I have a headache	I unite

jito′rikude	hąmbua′di	haidi′me	gate′hapa′rikode	tibo′
I am sick	he is dead	here he is	I shall buy	clothing

kaiąię′ha	kahęhabi′ha	tibo′	ado′	gate′hapa′rikade	tore′h
for the woman	for my daughter	ropa			digging tool

kania′meh	nio̧′ni	ka′rani′	hado′tcomi	konitci′mo
one	2	3	4	5

knitu′gupe	kamieme	kniticirupe	nyoani′	hadotume
6		7		9

kni′tcirupe′	itisune′	taurupane	kaniame	taumpe′	gnione
	10		11		

taurupe taranih kⁿtana′mo tsini′ keintanari′ keniame

kųntanari nyoani′ taranih hado′tcheme ta′usune′. Habe!

hado′ habe′ hudi! kode′ jorokwi konde′h kodeh tcuma

huriara′	tcuma′·	mdaibø	ba′inbo′	cųbo′e	kaįabi′	kaįaha′o
		go get		my little daughter	my daughter	my son

ka′įaho̧′i	jorokwa	kaįatibo	nyohe′	unitu′rikdi	hati′n
son			said he	I am tired	very far

urøtø′ ko′de′·	jambo	nomene′	jorokwe	kuononia′	jorokwi
I am going to eat	now	tomorrow	give me	knife	give me

topone′	hibe′	tiboka′į	jitorikweitci	gitorikwe′	tao′	ado
matchete	ax	fish line	my finger burns		shank	

gitorikwe	apahu′	tana′.	Tode′ha	tibatzua′pa	todeh′pa
	back	this, so.	cut	make	cut

tibatzua′pa	tcia′rapapa′	tcharato′h	quepeto′h	chido′	bu′ah
make	canoe	salted	(a tree)	chiguire	deer

aure′h	opara′h	arih	tco̧·	ikuvi′·	ari′	okaroro′	po·o
dog	white heron	babu	fish	turtle	babu	chicken	snake

cheni!	‘we¹	ᵃndura′h	tcirideme·h	yuna′ wate′h	ᶜʰpa′rari·h
water snake	hawk	tawny crane	tortoise	king duck	wire

nyia′kanka·h	oibi′·h	ᵇᵘˡtca′.ʰʷ	apekuch	tara′ʰ·
cayman	tonino	my	araña spider	jivaro stork

tchiratoh	oah	arhedi	ho′de′h	kevamuin	kodeh	mineh
	make		I	brother-in-law	I	you

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I split a log to make a canoe, I burn it, I plane it on the outside. I burn it. I make it ready. I plane it inside. Now it is ready. The work is finished. Tomorrow it is thrown down. Tomorrow I shall have a small canoe. The canoe is finished. I go away younger. I go away. I come back. I live here. I am going two days away. I shall stay a long time there where I am going. My older brother lives there with my family but I am here now and I have my sister, my father, my uncle, my aunt, granddaughter, sister-in-law, a little girl, my brother-in-law, younger uncle, grandchild, my girl child who is married. Her husband he gives food to her, cloth, he is married to her, he does not harm her. He gives her a necklace. Goodbye my mother. When are you coming with us? Let us go. Not yet, let us go tomorrow when the others go away. I am going away nephew, I am going away son, uncle, I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother. I go away my brother-in-law. (The rest of the text is incomprehensive except that it continues to emphasize traveling back and forth between the author's country and the Yaruro country, hunting, eating, and family relationships.)

Nụdiha′	kaị	katopa′ri	wirø′h	Hụdia′h	hutihą′	mitę′vide′
afterwards	rope	let down			man seized	rope to come out

kaị′	miteh	anoneh	ado′kaịnimo	ieịnmiteh	hu′diha	hado′
	pull	we	more others	woman pull		more

mitede	adokonimoh	nomehiti	kaị′	hoị′	adokenemoh	ieị′
took hold	more others	before	rope	husband	more other	woman

adokenemoh	kaị′	adokenemoh	pumeh	hoi	adokenemoh
more others	rope		people	husband	

yeị′ adokenemoh hoị′ adokenemoh yeị adohenemoh pumehoi pumeh yeị adokenemoh ho′i adokenemoh yeị adokenemoh ho′i yeị′ adokenemoh Yaruro ho′i yeị

peha′ondi
(so it is)

Marupano	churo′pano	tsia′nupǫ′	taruru po′·	johadi	muị′hivę′
(North, left hand)	(right) south	west	east	take	below (river)

kaị ntiha′	hondi	kiadia-ti	hutiha	juro	pu′ndidiha′	untiha
afterwards rope	truly	stays		south	went	

johadi′	joha′	whuapar idi	nuna	ate	puru·	tcou me′hde
take	take	fear	duck	reale	feathers	was loose

lame′ha′pa	podameh	jomę′de	pu′meh.
fishing for thraiai		unsuccessful in hunt	

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Afterwards the rope is let down. Afterwards a man seized a rope to come out. We pull up more, we pulled up woman, afterwards we pulled up more of the others. We pulled up her husband and women and more of the others. So it is.

Kodo kodo	pearuh	pumeh	yeị	pearu	undiatceni	pandi
long time ago (before)		(Yaruro)	woman	before	reverted	animal

terracoapendi	Uiya	pumehdi	uiya′	pe′aruh	chuį	pumehdi
there were no people	antes	before people people	howlers	new	monkeys	people

pea′ral	Yaruro	pearuh	pumehdi	pea′ru	Jaruro	Merideh
		before	people (Yaruros)	before		(another animal)

pumeh	pea′ru	beri	monati.	chumeri	pearuh	tibatu
			(were people once)	(fino)		

kaę′hahį	mbua′dahaneh	ku·wa	tetǫ′	mbua′deneh	ecitǫ′a
string	he left	fat (large, thick)	harpoon arrow	he left (died)	

undia′	brekadirǫ	ihe	udiha′	hudirǫ′hudihą′	amboie′dida
	was fierce			afterwards the others	is dying

antcikwehu	høe	wi·ru′	indiha	tambena′	hadewa′h	hurade′dihų′
		submerged		manire	get closer (approach)	is eating

harawi′tah	hurare′dibuah
	we were eating

(Free Translation)

A long time ago before the Yaruro woman was referred to an animal there were no people. This was before the people became monkeys. Before the Yaruro people. The howlers were people once. (The rest is untranslatable.)

Y	eba parihidi	dekudi	hode ha′bi	hado′	ahu′rmaį′	aį′
woman		I want	uncle	brother		mother

kera′	ayęimaį	hparikidi	atsi′	manei′mirikidi	pumehdaįharikidi
sister-in-law	father	far	away	I will come in five days	I shall go to see

ado′	tamentsomerikidi	tana′h urapa′ane′h	arigudi′—igru′
my people	they are hungry	let us eat	armadillo

(Free Translation)

I want to go to my woman, uncle, brother, mother, sister-in-law, father, far away. I will come in five days. I shall go to see my people. They are hungry, let us eat armadillo.

Po·tcuni	tciaware′h	tcipu′tcipu′h	tsia kwaį po·	hikanakopo′h
water snake	(rattle)		snake	(another snake) (garter snake)

cresu′ente	grande	Mana	uihana′	hudi′hą	gondo′	uni	dabu	o′te′ha′
flood	water	come	water much	afterwards	pull out		hole	jefe

nyǫ	hudihą′	kaį·	uni	jorokoa—	kaį′	ottahį′	pøhana′	uni′
said	afterwards	rope	boy	give to me	rope	Jeha	water snake (mythical)	boy

hoteh puhana′di hondo′pa hudi′ha′ pueheri′ muingondo′
kainą nyuanih′ Huidiha′ pue′rih handi mbea′h hoynde′
kaniame ieį′ kaniame ieį ado′ Hudihą baudire kaį
undiah maę′ tǫkwe maį′ ieį′ Hųdiha′ abantcę n′diha

			cold feels			
Hu̯diha′	kondeh	kua	tcutca·mbuh	pumeh	Hu̯diha′	ote′h
	fire	light	feels cold			chief

djorohendeh	huriara′	nyo′hǫdihę	hohią	nyǫ′	bidiwę′	prohana′(di)
give other more	eat (food)	said more	to the men		they told me	snake

huraria′	ado′	huriara′	Hudi′ha′	huna′rahi̥′h	hara di dine′h
food	more	food		search for food gather	living is (people) is existing

huriara′	tcuneineh	ota′burah·	hu̯di′ha	nyo′bedirę′	uni
eat	all	everything		said man ♂	boy

iba′udede	tciri′h	hu̯dihą	ano′hineh	tcinjio′awuh	pono
not ours	land (savanna)		us (we)	(savanna)	lining

tcinhoy	mbedenu	ivi	yei̥	kania′me	iei	keniameho
savanna man	has no house	(water)	woman	one woman only		

hina′patu	univedrǫ	tcin jioayu	joro	hinani	jai̥	nivenah
give more yields	boy but a man now	savanna here	give	much		

jąi	joro′	jai′	joro′	inenivoka	niveina′·h	vaka	joro	joa′
home		horse	give	much cattle	many whites	cattle	give	this

tcidoh	mboa′	mdame′h	aurih	pumeha′ndi	taive′	jipe′h
chiguire	deer		dog	people no (not)	stranger	changuango

pumeh	hura′pa	ji′pe	datutunu′h	pumeha′	tcidoh	mbua′di′ro
	eat		iguana		for us	is coming down from

ngatetu′	tibø′	paitcetcora′	Hudi!	yodeh·	pumehandi
he goes buy	clothing	hat	also	this	for us

tcirihødeh	dabuch	pumeha′	tana′pa	ndabu′h	hi′na	pumeha′
land that	the beach	for the people	happened	earth	much	for the people

orijara′	India	Rosa	^{n}dahuh	India	Rosa	handi′	tibato′
land of Kuma	(where she was born)		earth			no (negative)	

huriara	ha·pi̥a	tibato′	tcitǫ′	humayo′	he′dano	hotai′di′
comida	arrow		puyon (harpoon, arrow)	fishhook	is making fixing	he sends

huridirǫ′	uni	hura′riapa	dipuate′	dihote′	tciparadi′h
go hunting	boy	is cooking food	javalon		iron

tcnehewą	tibato′	ivinø′nøh	jipeh′	ivi deneh	jipe′h	tcopai
his		wife		many women		(a fruit) (guapo)

ivindeneh	joka′i	para′·	ividno	taruvidineh	ivivenę
woman	(fruit guapo)	barbaco		digging	women digging

hakandawa′po	moh	tsio	kondehtsio′	tibøh	aborią	hote di
collecting guapo	turtle		smoke light (fire)		breechclout	man

kai̥ya	hiadiro′n	pe aroh	hudi′	maę	joa′	ibamąi	hurapiandeh
my		new		language this		our language	cook

huriara′ndeh	kai̥a cani′	hαtαhu̯riara′	tibato′	huriarą′	tcǫ
for us to eat	my boy	send (to get) food			

tibato′	tcǫ·pa′ndi	tcu ma	diawa	hųdiha	tcǫhani′	undi
bow	gather	soup	making		fish much	

hurato′	oteh	uni′	udi′hia′me	puhanaineh	yeįn	India
			is wealthy			

Rosa	ha′ni	ota′ini	pue	joro′	tineh	tcenehewa′	huni
		our	hole	give	us	silver has	

a′ndi	honde′h	kodokodi	inehe	akri′	honde′h	nye′	moi
		long time ago		stole		people	is

kia	^{n}datcen	nyenenih	nglne′h	hųdiha	tcara pa′	tikuni′h
sleeping		night			curiare make	lack

huriara′	taint	hurara	a′itu	hambu tiǫ′	tcara	tømetcǫ′
food	paddle		fluhar	avoid hunger		hunger

huriarikidi	hurapa′ri kidi	tomatca′rikidi	tomaticǫ′	honde′h
eaten already	drank already	hunger have		

jaguę′meh	niveyø′·	tcumamau′	huria′rą	homa′ huriara′	ngua^{m}deri
salt	raumal	making	soup	grandmother	lacks

hohu′dihohadeo′di	hohaur′	hudi′ha	mbautaneh hawi	iembateneh
there is your land	nephew		let us go seek	go hunt

ycį	eba′·h	hαdi′di	hakari	undi′ah	mbahu	yeį	ebah
	hunting				let us go hunting		

itu′nemeh	tcihi′nemeh	gwabu′itcare	huwi	tcuputci	pu·hde
hundred legger		stretch by raya	cascavel		let

|	hu′hi	tciara tciara	kdo kdehineh	pumeh	kodo kodo	yeį
		canoe				

tsade′h	putsiake′h	hudia′	pumhdi	tsa′deh	garempa
pretty	nephew of Kuma				

kodo kodo tokwį pumeh yeį

(Free Translation)

The water snake created a great deal of water. There came much water afterwards. The people were full of doubt of the hole. The chief (Hatchawa) said afterwards give me a rope. The boy asked Puaná and * * * the people felt cold. The chief (Hatchawa) gave them food and fire, he told the snake to give more food, to gather food. The boy said to the man, the land is ours. There was one woman. The boy was a man now and gave her much, gave her horse, gave much cattle, gave capibara, deer, dog, gave changuango, the iguana. This man here is going to buy us a hat. He said this land was for us, for the people. The boy fixed a fishhook and an arrow and went hunting. The women gather fruit, barbaco, the women dug for barbaco. They collected turtles, lighting a fire, made breechclouts. (The remainder is unintelligible.)

STORY OF KATIWE′J

Katiwi	hura′	pume·tokwį	hura′	katiwe′i	huitcuaduo
	ate	boy			bathing

hura′	pumeh	tokwį·	Hudhą′	hohadi′	nuabąuhįhati′.
				uncle	took him away for

Hudihą'	tutarią'	anno'	katiwci	dawedepia'	totarią'
	corral	left		afterwards no one new	corral

dawedepią'	katiwi	mbaøųhą'	katiwi·	kumahi'	pe	abe'tci.
				went to	puma	

Ado'	tigitigihura'	pume	tokwi	uni.	Hudihą'	nguna'hą'
also	hawk large					killed him

tigi tigi	anna'.	Hudihą'	nkua'hą'	konderų'	nkua'	tigitigi.
			burned	with fire.		

Itciai hidi nyǫ.

Sade'habįa'	pumeh	sadeh'habe	iei'	sadeh	hąohąø'	jito'	deka'
greetings	men	greetings	women	greetings	children	not	sick

hidata'	kieine	ambrįandi	bau ⁿhuandi' nome'.	Hatchawa	Ha'Hą'
waiting	wife	dead	many days time that he has been away perhaps is dead		

tcadeidi	dibe pume'hdi	gitodeka'	tcade'	tcadeide	køa'yu
good	loves man	sick not	good	good (is)	with me

tcadeidi	jorodike	nombi	joro i'me	ja'i	hambuado	kumą'dabu
	gives me	cigar	will give him	horse	will be born	Kuma land

joroime	baka	joroime	tiere'	kodeh	hambua'dø	ado'
			silver		will be born	

kuma	dibeume	tcade'di'	pumedi	habiandabu'	kodeh
	love him	good	man	my land	

pariata	kunni	pumehdirį'	konemo	tcįn'bu	kanemo	pumi
making	(♀ speaking)	people	other kind	land	other	

kodeh	joruą'	konotø'·	konotø	meneno'mi
	gave	to live		like you

Puana' ado

Pume'	moneno'	debendi	tciri	nua'tohę	meneno'	hotabure!
	like you	every one	(Yaruro land)			

siande tcacheidi dibeh honetaide ea dibe' ea

Kode'rikidi oteh tcunią' oteh kodeh kode joro

tcara'	tcitǫ'	tobato'	kuriara'	atø'	menenǫ'	ote	bureh
							all/everybody

tcune'ine otebure' dabu tciri kaią koderikido aname'·

tokwi mi	hamburinene'	tsadevinene	hambu'	hida'tsinǫ'kwi
				wait

nuą'ⁿtohe'nuą'	larihidi	kodeh	tsunią	jurupa'	hambu'uni'
			(all he loves)	(ending dying)	

ote'bure'h tcade dirę' dibeaia dirǫ'.

(This is the speech made by Kuma to me during one of the shamanistic performances.)

Greetings, men, greetings women, greetings stranger, greetings relatives. His wife is waiting. She is not sick, nor is she dead. He has traveled many days. She thinks that perhaps he is dead. Hatchawa loves this good man. He is good to me. He gives me a cigar. When he will be born again in Kuma land, I shall give him a horse, silver, he will be born in my land. I love this good man. He lives in the other kind of land. I gave it to him to live there, like you my people, like you every one living in Yaruro land.

MAKING A HAMMOCK

hunghuari	kodi	ghubu′ideha	ngua′ dedi kudi	kai̯kai̯nya′
I shall	seek	moriche (palm) cut	I do not have	for all the rope

ndarikudi	abu̯a′	jambu̯a′	tcatcą′	abo′	habaukidi	tci′ha
I found it	now	to-day	heavy	!	wait a moment	

ⁿgaopa′	tcirike′	muiarikide′	kanehau′kidiua	habeko	hudi′
already	dry	I go	I shall put it there	tomorrow	afterwards

hunghuarihode	hude	wa′derikudi,	uapaumene	panaume′
I go seek	macanilla	I do not have	but I fear	jaguar

tcuame dida	hupaname′di	ko̯aheanihun	ⁿgudi′	merikone′
fierce (wild)	time	go forth fierce	I shall	kill it

Habetci̯	jikude′wą′	hu̯tcą′ri̯awei̯′	barikudi	kai̯tca′ha
Now I	am ready	it	a moment (wait)	I will the string

ⁿdigⁿuaderikidi
I do not have

kai̯′=string, rope

(Free Translation)

I shall seek a moriche and cut the leaves to make rope which I do not have. I found it heavy today. Wait a moment. It is already dry. I go now. I shall put it there until tomorrow. Afterwards I shall go seek my macanilla. I do not have it now, but I am afraid of the jaguar, a fierce animal. It will go forth, fierce. I shall kill it. Now I am ready. I shall make the string which I like.

CARVING ASABACHE

Ne·♂apa′rikidi	hi̯ehą′	hade′nni	hi̯eha′mmi	kai̯a	iei̯	hami
I am making	for the woman wife	pretty	wife for	my	wife	for

tcade′dedike′do	tun·tsi′·	ngate	ha′rikidi	habu	gweinitię̨inda
good tamed no well out	necklace	buy	I shall	no	why si

tsu̯a′dehabo′	tcade′diho′	hape′me′rikone′	ngluto′rike	ikidø
because	good because or	I make it	it hunts me	the finger

tcumidanika′	hapadęime	dekone′	nguadeni′ki̯a	huihambo′rikidi′
makes me lazy	make better (better I not make it)	I not	I do not want	I am very thirsty

harare′hiro′ke	aguretumi′kįa	hurakikodi	abarikidi	tcirike′a
drink water			I go away	urinate

hatcin	hǫ′į′de	koe′tonda.
far away	forest	because it is cool there

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I am making for my pretty woman, my pretty wife, a necklace because she is good. My finger hurts me. Makes me lazy. I shall not make it. I do not want to make it. I am very thirsty. I shall drink water. I am going away to urinate far away in the forest because it is cool there.

Udia	burahananandi	tohigwąme′	whui′hą	jąi	tohį′ gwą′ame′
	he came	shaman	he	horse	shaman

whuịhą′	jai·	whuịnduria	hanari	hamburi′me di·	whuịnduria
he	horse	was (perfect) afterwards next	other	dead (his spirit)	was next

hanari	iene·	pumei	iene′	whu′nduria′	hanari	pume	oị′·
other	woman	(Yaruro)	woman	was next	other	Yaruro	men

whuị induria	hanari	ieni.	Handokanemo′	hana di (*or* hanari)
was next	other	women	more	others

hado hanemo	hanari	nehde′i	whuị′nduria′·	whuimduria
more	others	come!		

hanari	kanemo′	hadohanemo′	hindeni	whuị induria.	Hindeni
	more	more			

hadohanemeno	whuinduria	ieni.	Hadhanemo′	iene′	hi′nadnę′
					many

hinane	hind iro *or* hina′dne.	Hadokanemo′	hanadi′	hadokanemo′
much	people			

whuịnduria.	Hadodihende′ni	kanemodui	hina′drę′	pumeh
	come with his companions	later		

Hinadre, Hinadre′ pume′h. Hado′di hendeni kanemo′ dụi′ hindrę′ ndia hanne′du hinadrę′ hadokanemo′ haneni hinadrę. Hado′di hineni kanemo′ dụi′ Hado′ kanemo′ hinedrę′.

Itciai

hudi=man

hini=woman

Hanadi	Itciaide	pea′ru	tie′riai	kanumei	hanadei
comes		at first before	land all		one came

Hatchawadei.	oteh di	Hado kanemo′	otehdi	puanadi.	Hanadei
					this

kumahini.	Nyodei	Itcadei	konoto	tcade′i·	konoto	tciri jụa,
			would live	good		this earth

behade	jode′	dibe	hungo	ndona′nadi′·	eadidibe′.	Eadidibe
does not want, love, like	this	you	arrived	he arrived	loves you much	he

tcadedi′	Yaruro	depeha′ndi.	Hatchawa	tcadi′di	debehu′.
		also			when he comes

Ngodediman	dibe	ea′tara.	Eadedi	nivena.	Andei	eadedi
he wants to come		loves you much			no	loves

Nninenivenah.

Eadidibe dibe′.

Puana′—Eadidibe′	tcade′di	ibia pumedi
		our family

Kuma—Nguo′nanadidibe′ eadidibe′ ea′dedi yude′. Hą dite

manna	dibe′	yu·	ⁿDaba—ine	ndi	handimanna	tara′	manna.
			♀				

Udia′	burahananandi	tohigw̃a′me′	whuihã′	jai	tohigwãme′
Then	he came large	shaman	he	horse	shaman

whuihã′	jai′	whuinduria′	hanari	hamburimedi′	Whuĩ′nduria
he	horse	was afterwards	other	dead (spirits)	was afterwards

hanari′	iẽine	whuĩnduria′	hanari′	i′ẽine	pume	i′ẽine
other	women	was afterwards	other	women	(Yaruro)	women

whuinduria′	hanari′	pume′h	oĩ.	whuinduria′	hanari	i′ẽine
afterwards	other	(Yaruros)	men	afterwards	other	women

handoka′nemo′	hanari	hadoka′nemo′	hanari	hendei
more	others	more	other	more came

whuinduria′	whuinduria′	hanari	kanemo′	hadokanemo′
was afterwards	afterwards	more	came	more came

whuinduria	i′ẽine	hadokanemo	i′ẽine	hina′drẽhinane	hinadirõ.
afterwards	women	more came	women		

hanadi	Itciaide	pearu	tciviai	kaniamee′i	hanadei	Hatcawade′i
came	Itciai	first	of this land	one	came	Hatchawa

oteh·′di	hadokanemo′	oteh·′di	puanadi	hanadei	Kumahisu′
chief	more other	chiefs	Puaná	came	Kuma

gnodei	Itciaidei	konoto′	tcadei	konoto′	tcirijua′	hehade
said	Itciai	live	well	live	this land	does not love

jode′	dibehungondonanadi	eadidibe	eadidibe	tcadedi	Yaruro
rational	to you arrived he loves much you		loves you	well	Yaruro

dephandi′
also

Hatcawadei	nyodei
(Hatchawa	said)

Tcadedi	dibehu	ngodedi	manadibe′	eatara′	eadedi′
when	he came to you	he wants	to come here	much	loves you

nivenah	andei	eadide′	nine	nivenah	eadibe dibe!
not rational	more	he loves you	not	rational	he loves you

Gnodei	Puanadei
Puaná	said:

Eadibe′	tcadedi	ibea	pumedi	a	Kuma	nyonamadididibe
he loves you		our	family		Kuma	comes saying

eadidibe	eadedieyude	haditemanna	dibeyu	ⁿdabuinnendi
loves you	but not rational people	not like this over there	he comes to you	(♀)

handimanna′ tara′ manna′

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Then the shaman came on a large horse, and afterwards the other spirits came and other women came. Afterwards more women, Yaruros came. Afterwards other Yaruro men came, etc. Then came Itciai, first of this land. He came. Then came Hatchawa, the chief, and more of the chiefs came, Puaná came, Kuma came. Itciai said live well. Live well in this land. This man does not love the Racionales. He has arrived among you. He loves you Yaruros much. Hatchawa said when he came to you here he loves you. He wants to come here much. He does not love the Racionales. He loves you.

Puaná said he loves you, our people, and family.

Kuma said he loves you but not the Racionale people. It is not like this over there where he lives. He comes to you.

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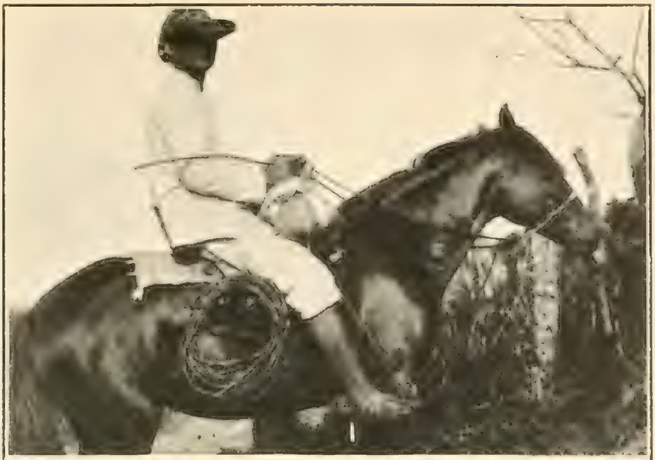
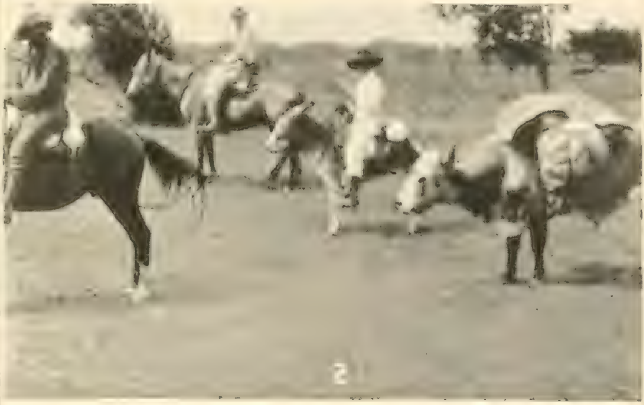
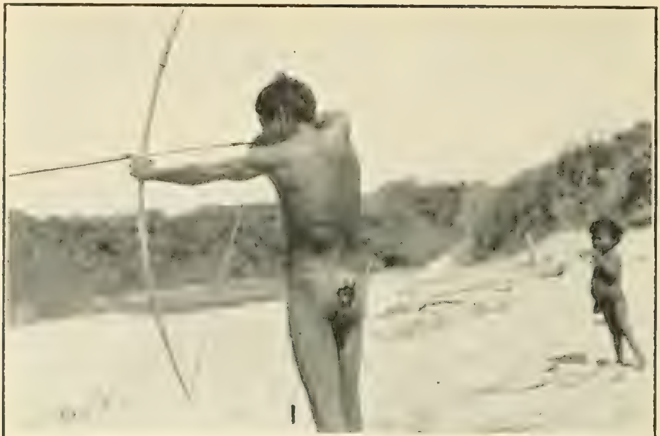




1. Llanero horseman. Note the toe stirrup and lack of bridle. *2.* Author's party traveling across Apure. Note the rope tied to the horse's tail and the bull's nose. *3.* Sand dunes in the Llanos of Apure.



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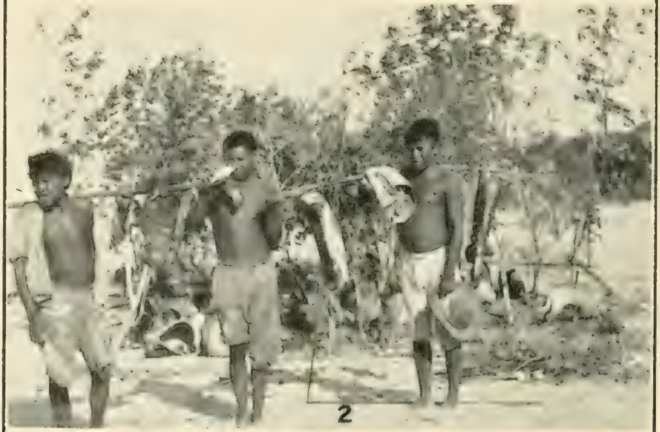

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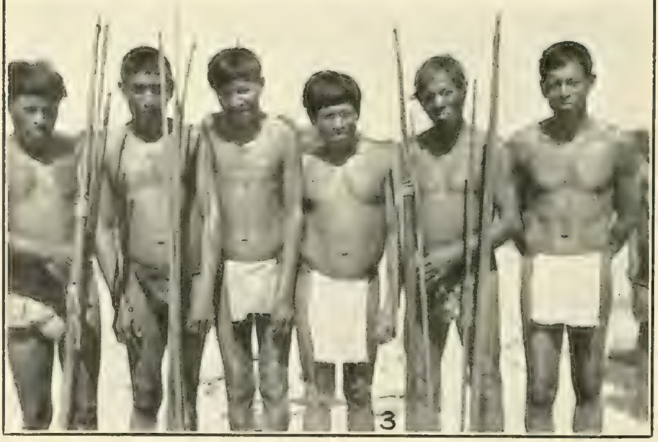

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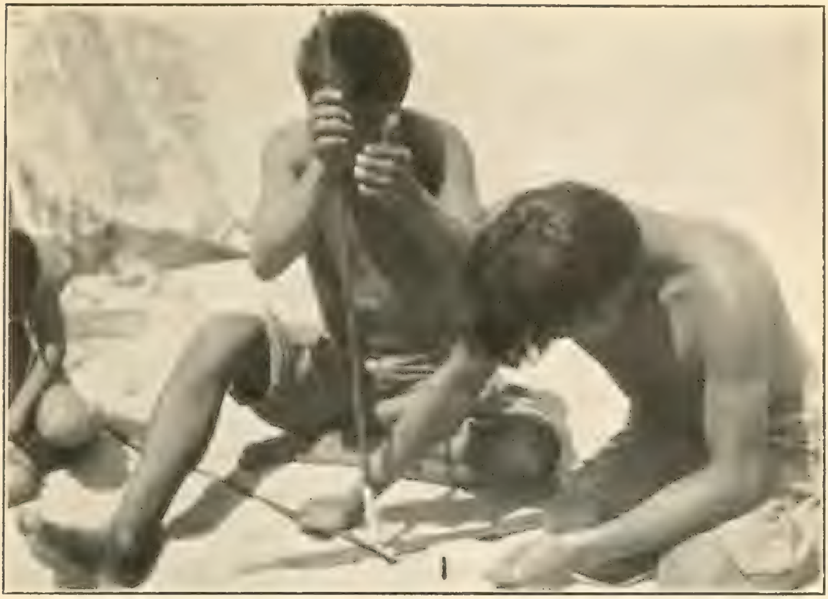
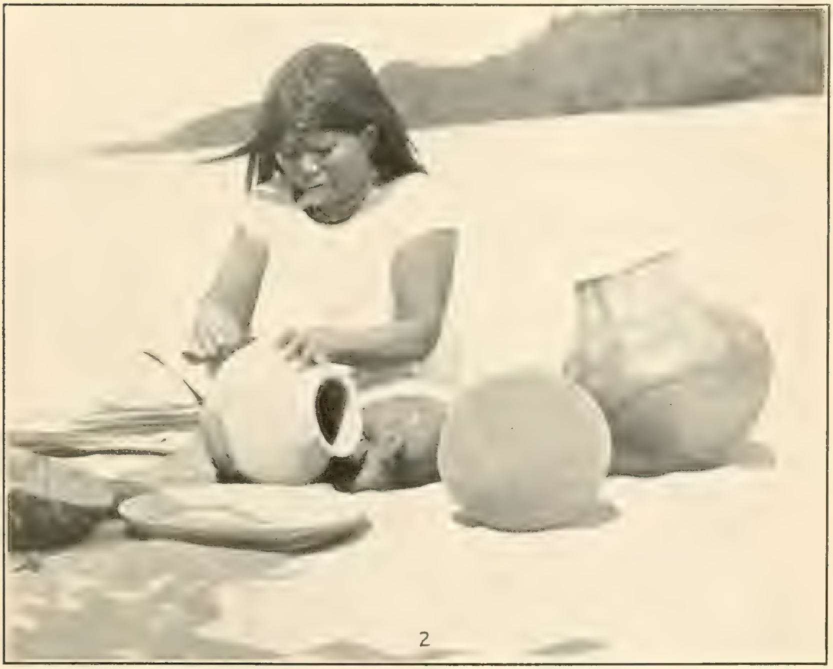
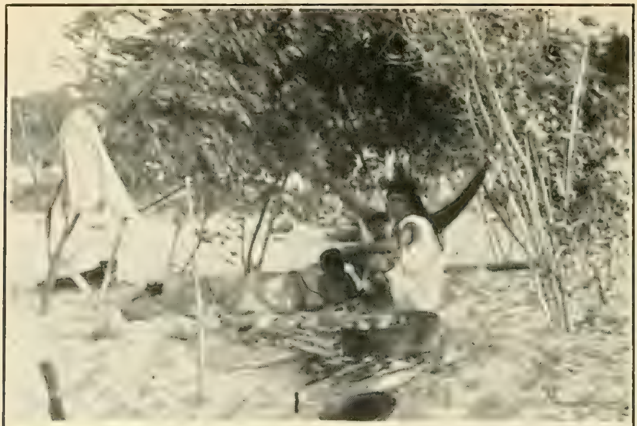
1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. *2.* Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. *3.* Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechclouts.

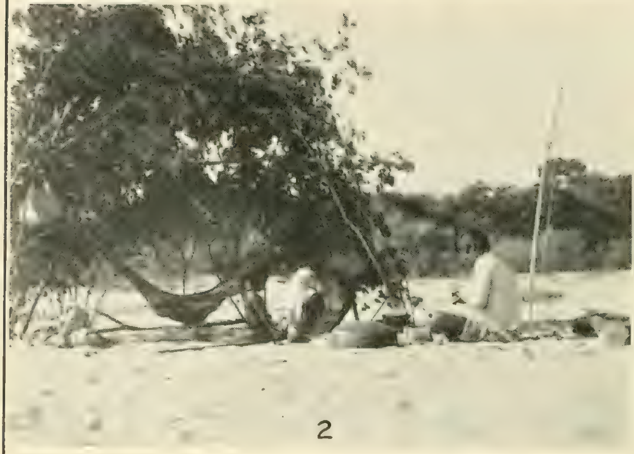


1. Two laurel sticks are used by the Yaruros to make fire. The laurel is found in quantity along the banks of the Capanaparo River. Fire is produced in 30 seconds.



2. Pottery making is woman's work. Note the pins thrust through the lower lip of the potter. She is smoothing the pot before firing.





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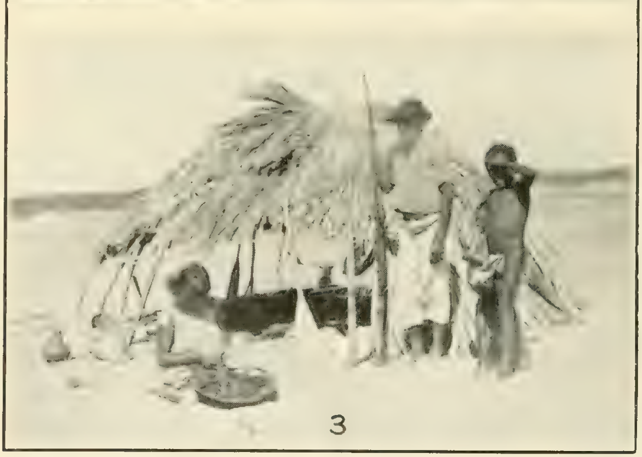
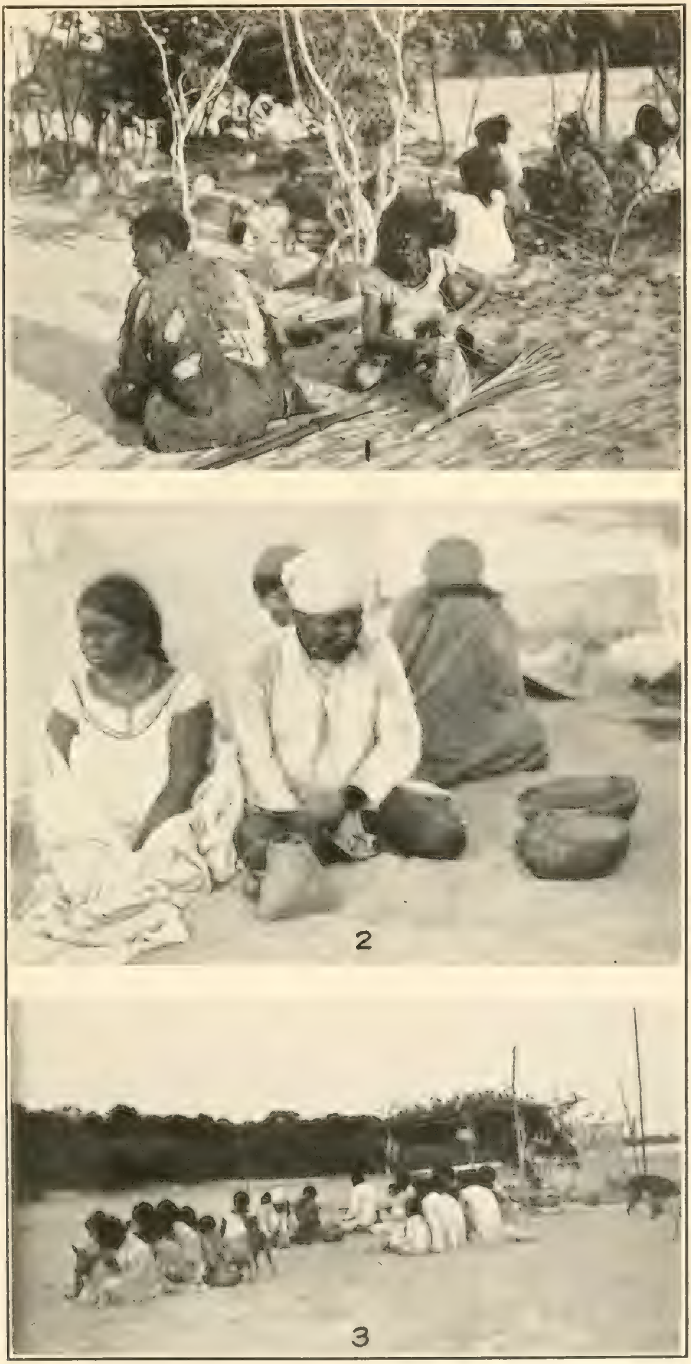
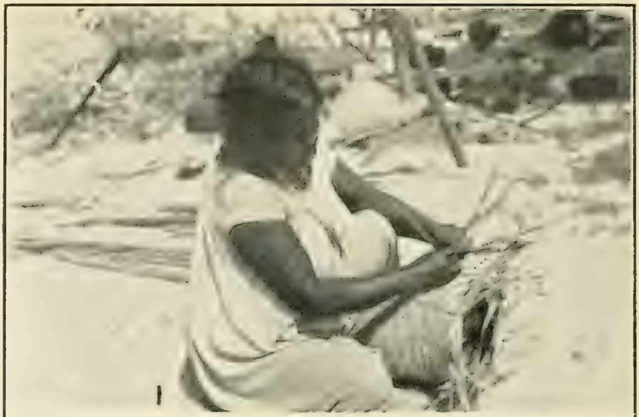


3

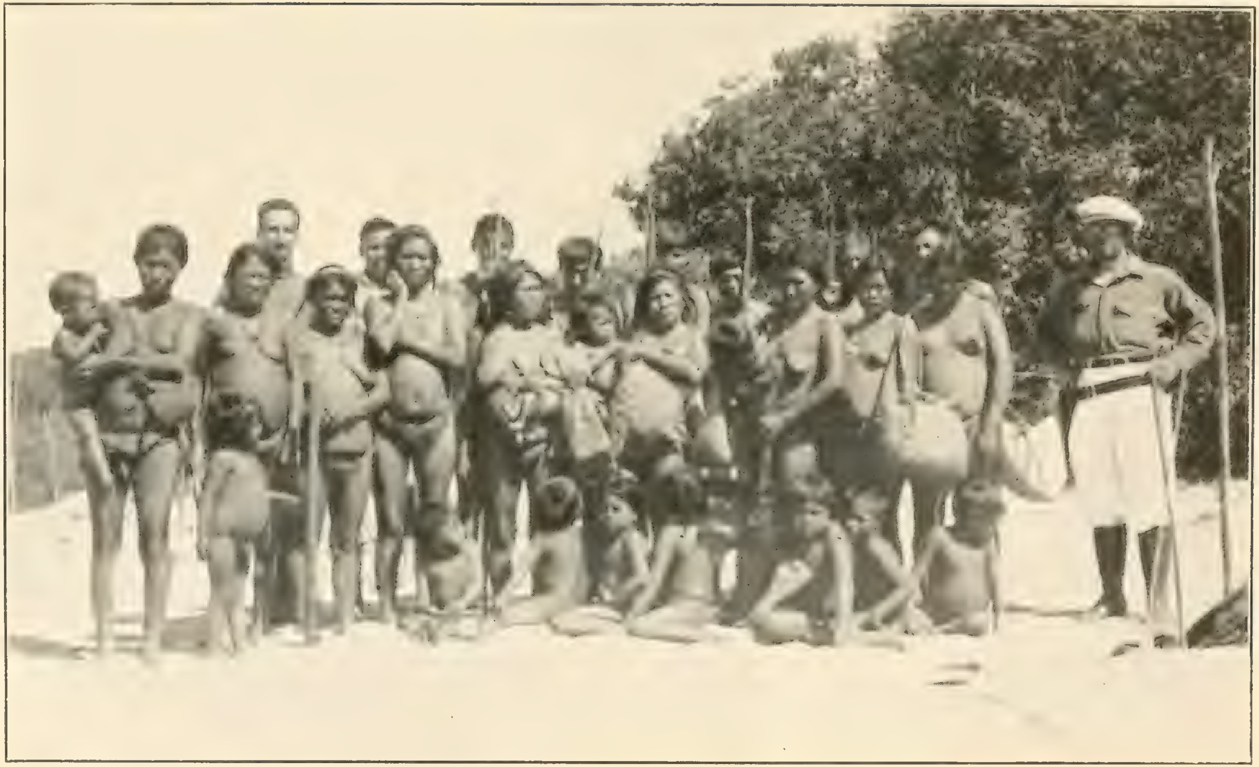
1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. *2.* Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. *3.* During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.



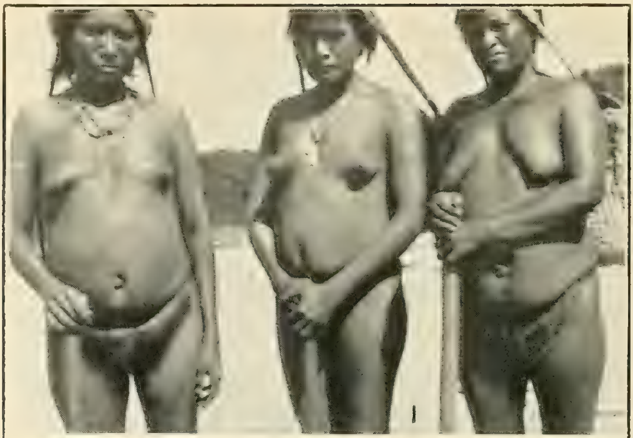
1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. *2.* At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "coroto," and ate tciupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanaparo Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. *3.* Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.



1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at El Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugcut canoes.



Yaruros of Lagunote. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.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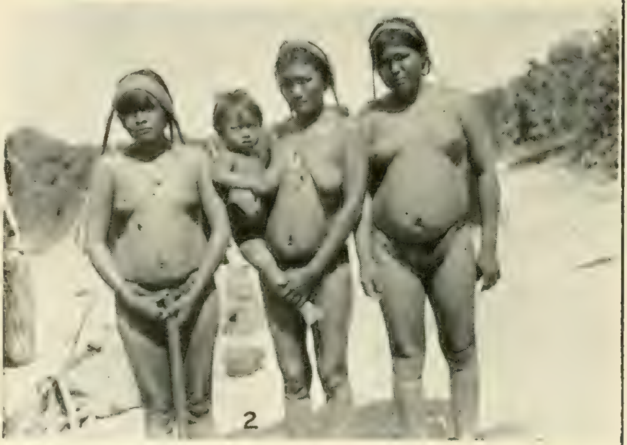
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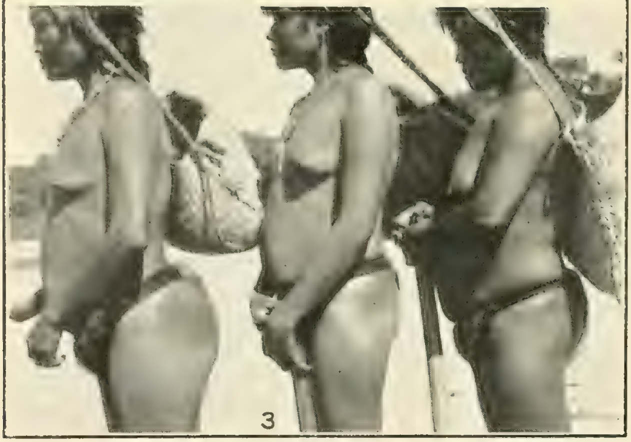
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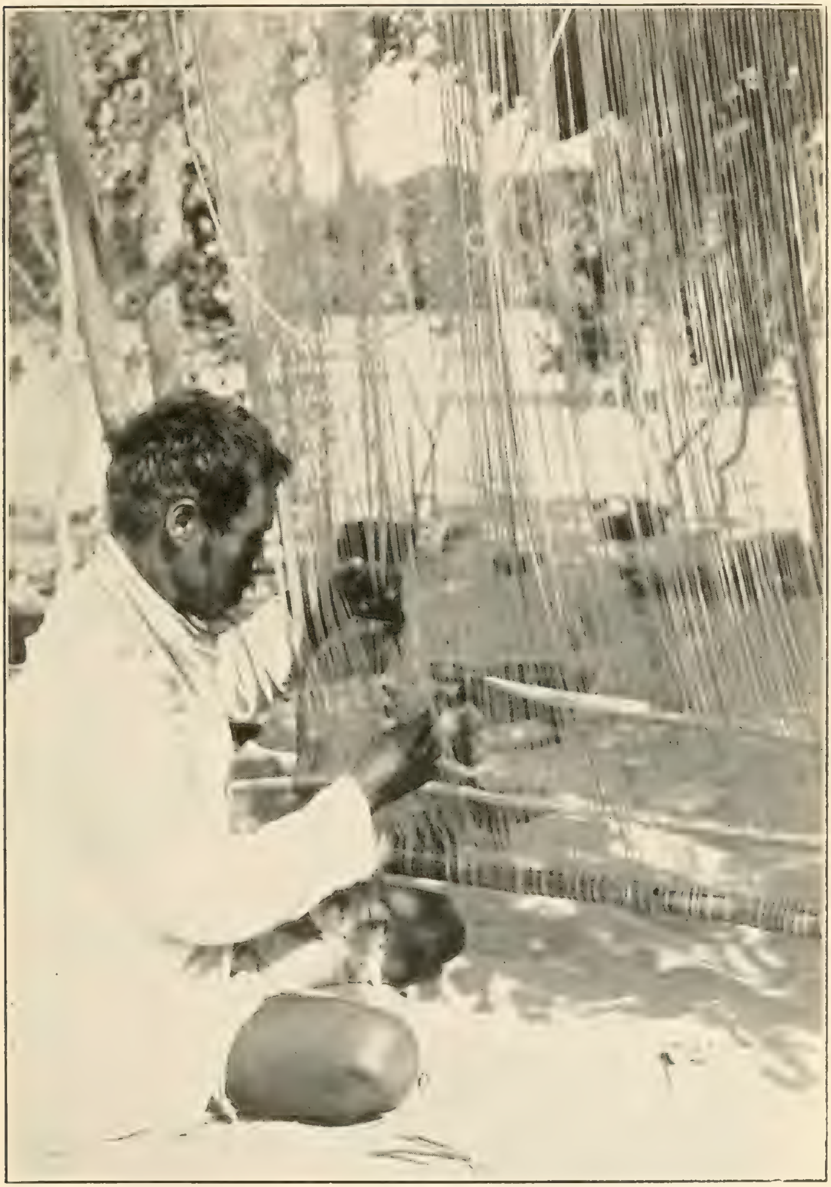
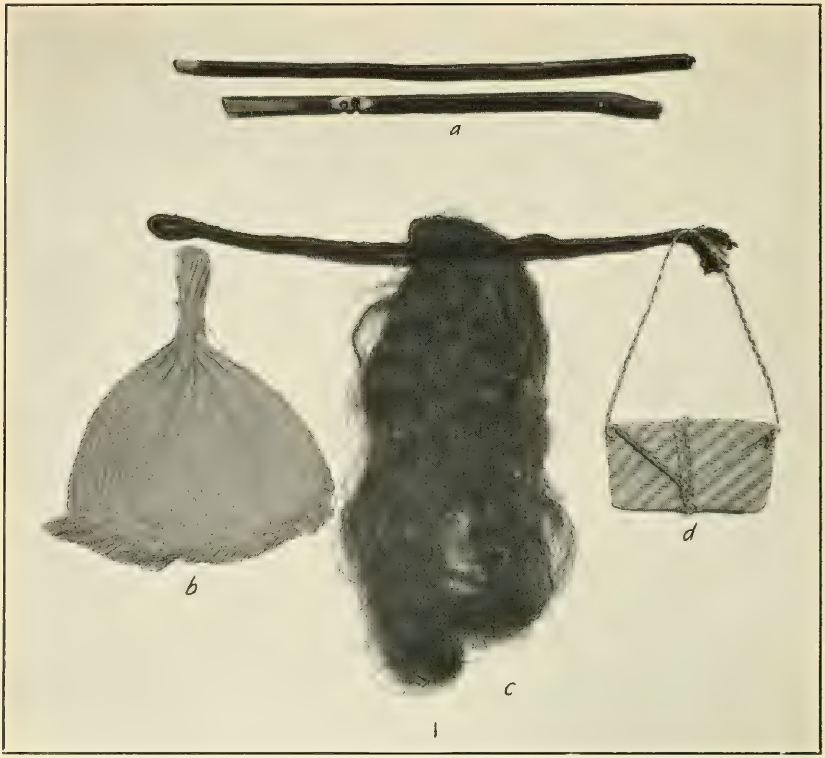
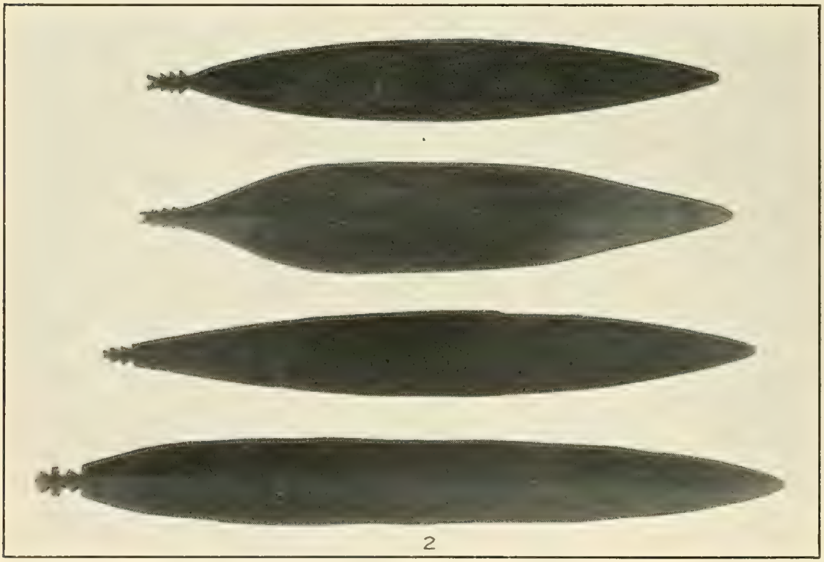
1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.



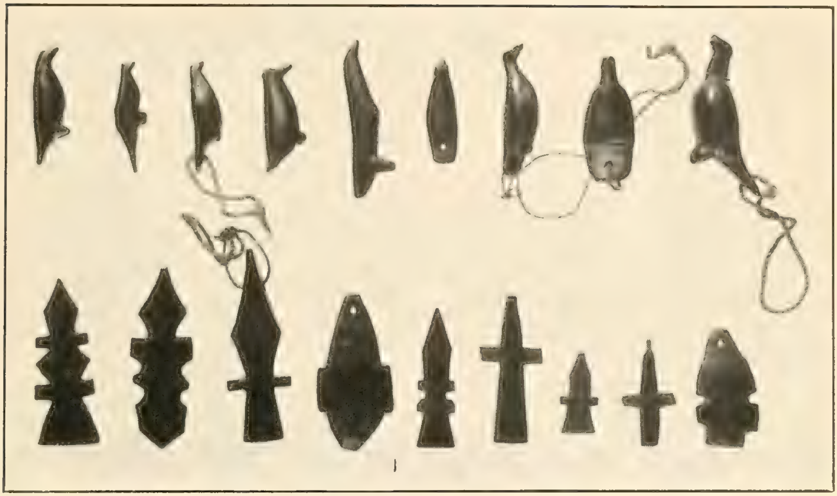
Landaeta, a shaman, weaving a hammock. Hammocks are made by men.



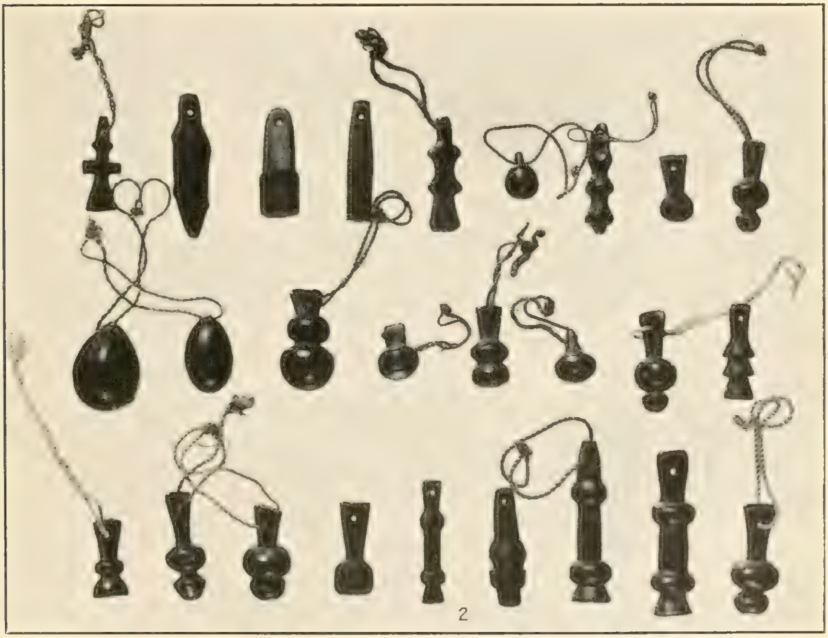
1. *a*, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. *b*, Fire fan. *c*, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.



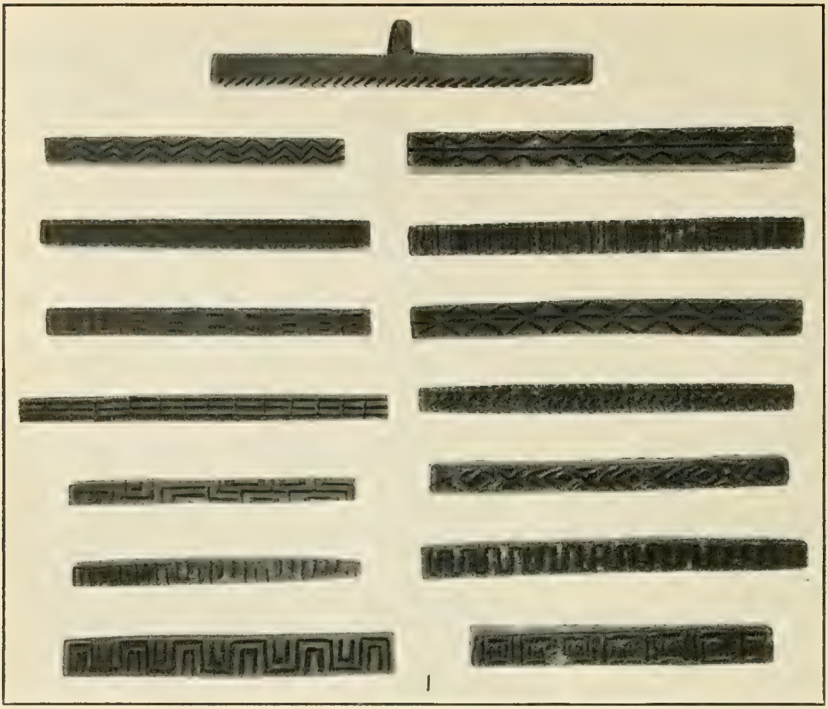
2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.



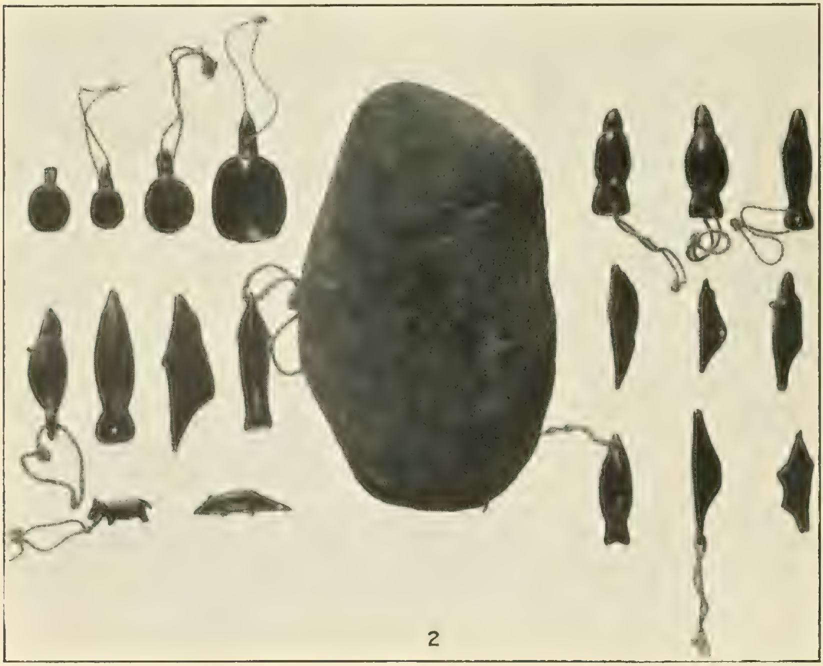
1. Asabache carvings. Top row: birds, mostly ducks. Lower row: geometric forms.



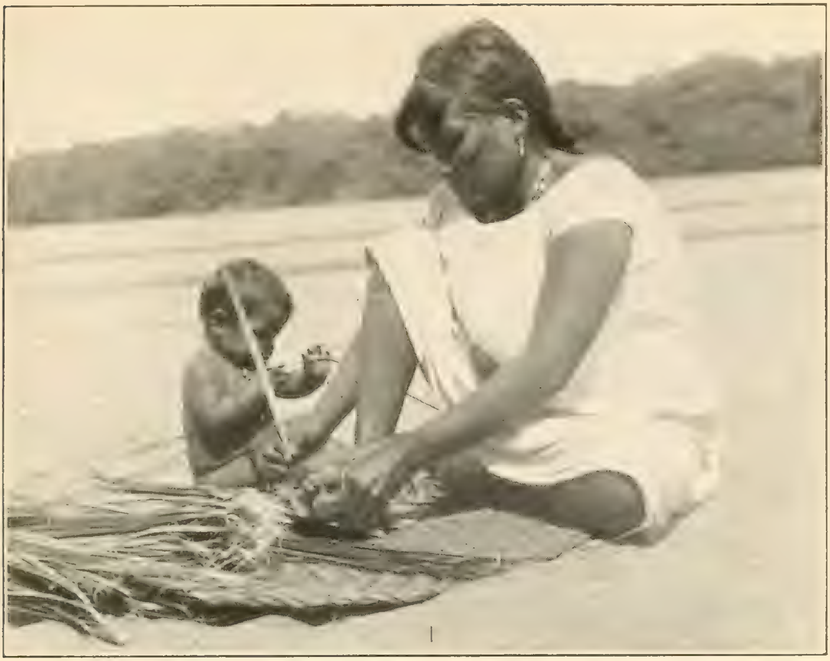
2. Asabache carvings. The two specimens of the middle row at the extreme left are palm-nut shells. For the most part these carvings represent seeds.



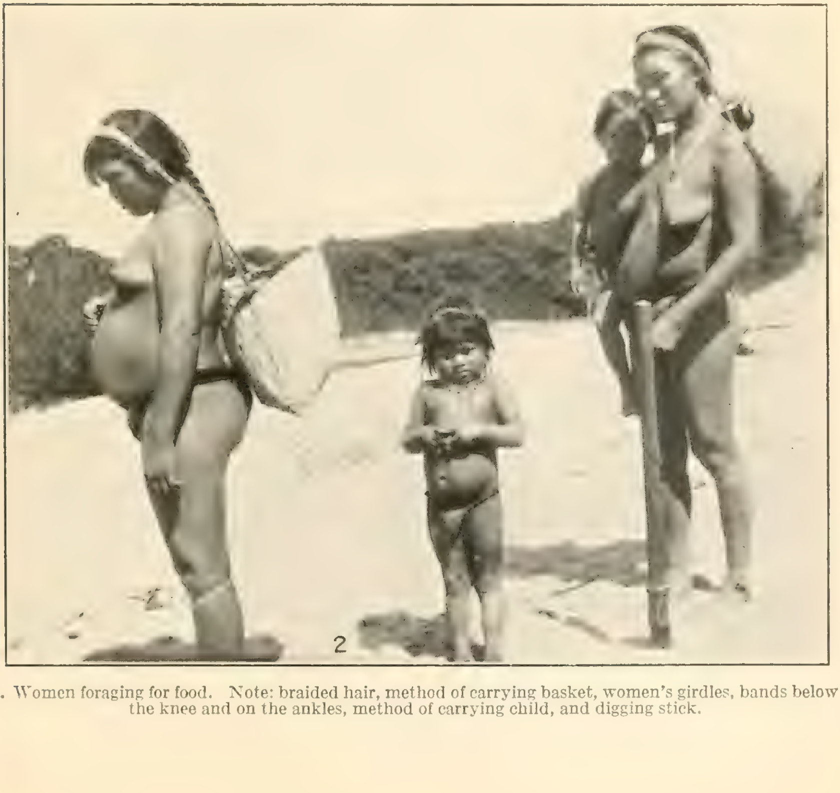
1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.



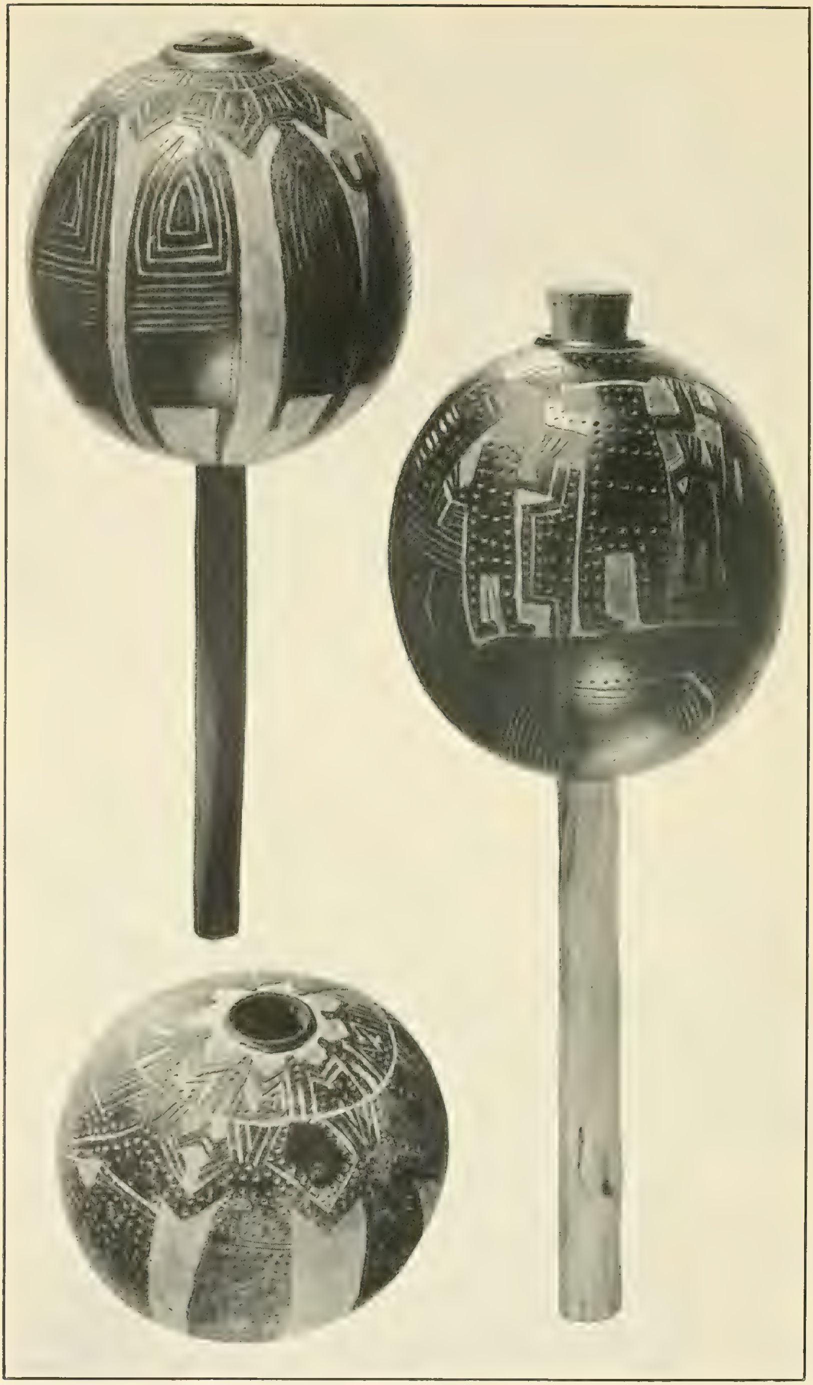
2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.



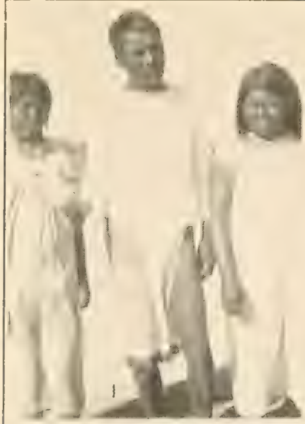
1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.



2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.



Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.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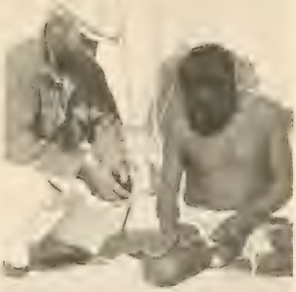
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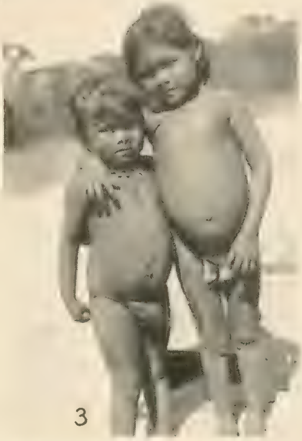
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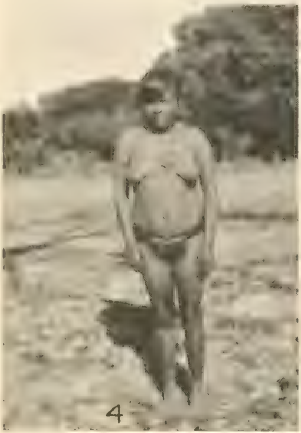
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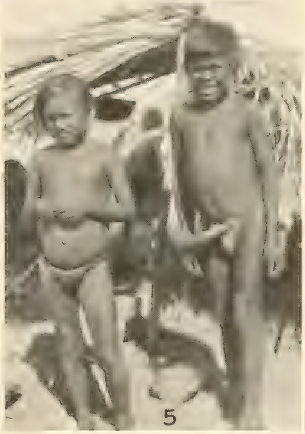
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1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechclout on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. *2.* Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. *3.* Two little girls wearing girdles. *4.* Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. *5.* The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechclout worn by the boy.

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Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 123

Anthropological Papers, No. 12

Archeology of Arauquin

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

ARCHEOLOGY OF ARAUQUIN

By Vincenzo Petrullo

The Llanos of Apure, lying between the Apure River and the Meta River, both of which flow eastward into the Orinoco, are unknown archeologically. There are many stories of the archeological material that may be found there. The most interesting of these stories which have been verified by geologists is the "Calzado", which is represented as being an elevated highway running from the Andes eastward. In this elevated "road" it is said are found archeological materials and at various points along its route are to be found mounds.

Mounds may exist in the llanos, but no one has as yet proven it. The country during the dry season is desert except for the narrow fringes of vegetation along the river banks. However, during the rainy season practically the entire area is inundated, so that any elevated portion could serve as an ideal camping ground or an ideal place for a village. The cattle ranchers, in fact, construct their houses on these elevations.

In the spring of 1934 I traveled from San Fernando de Apure to the Capanaparo, taking a route almost due south. Along this route at several points I was told of archeological materials and saw some specimens near Cunaviche. On the Candelaria Ranch I was told of four sites where pottery figurines are found: La Mula, Platanali, La Trinchera, and Los Cavallos. The specimens I saw, two of which were given to me and are shown in plate 30 (*2*), *a*, *b*, *c*, seemed to be of two types, crude figures of animals and cylindrical masses of pottery with elevated geometric designs on them. They might have been used as stamps for body painting, or for decorating pottery.

Upon my return from the Capanaparo I was invited to stop at the Ranch of Arauquin, which is the area formerly occupied by the Otomocos. This area is part of the inland delta of the Apure River. Game is more plentiful there than in the upper llanos, and during the dry season especially it must have been a favorite hunting ground of the aborigines.

From the meager accounts we have of the Otomocos they did not make elaborate pottery, and if we can judge by the ware made by the Yaruros it must have been rather crude. However, in three sites close to the ranch house of Arauquin, pottery fragments show a highly developed art, surprising in its strength and rigorous simplicity.

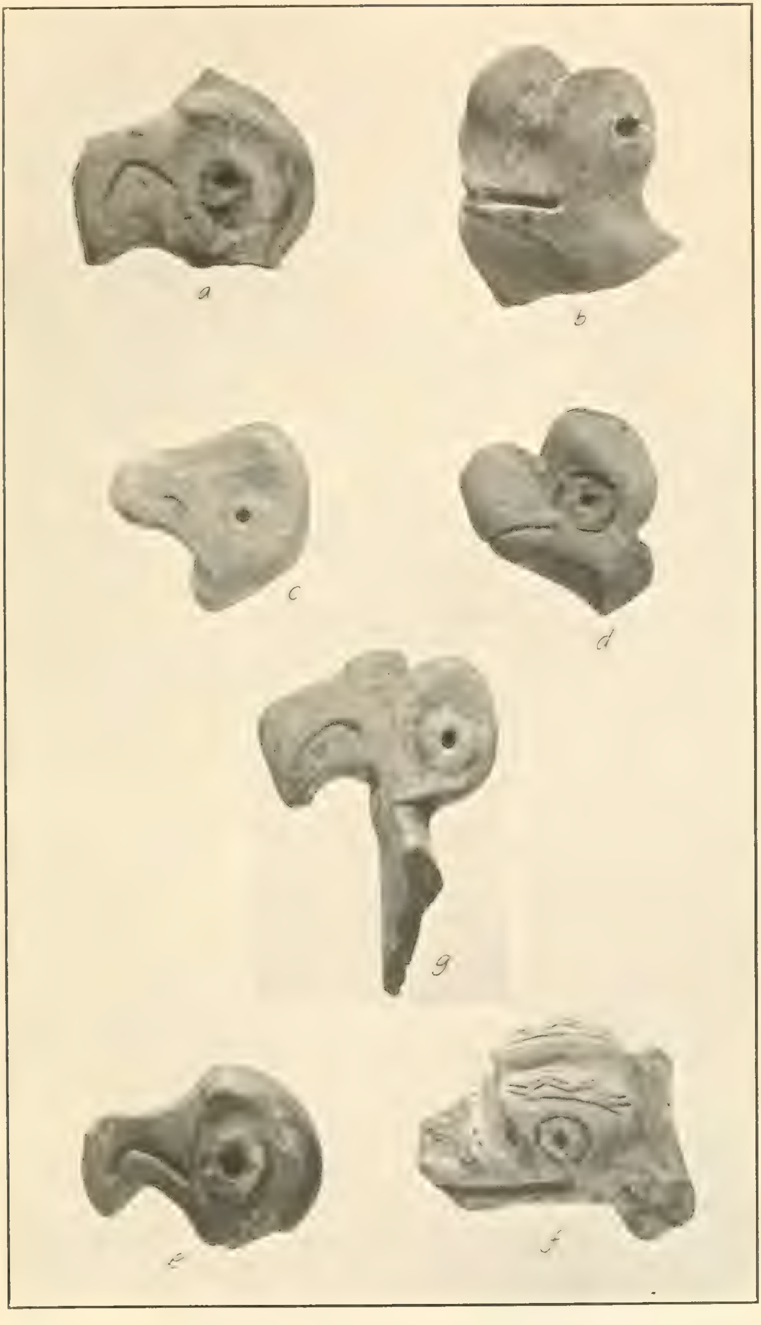
At a depth of about a foot and a half about one hundred pieces of decorated pottery were recovered, about thirty-five of which are lugs. These are shown in plates 26–32. The potsherds can be divided into two types: those which bear in size to geometric designs and the lugs which in almost every case represent some animal or bird head. It is almost impossible to identify some of these heads, realistic though they may be. Some of them, like plate 26, *a*, *g*, *e*, obviously represent the vulture. But plate 26 and the figures shown in plate 28 may be frogs or lizards, or even horned bats.

As mentioned above, the striking things about these pottery fragments is the simplicity of the art and its strength. On the whole, it is much more advanced than anything found at Tacariqua, for instance, which has attracted so much attention recently.

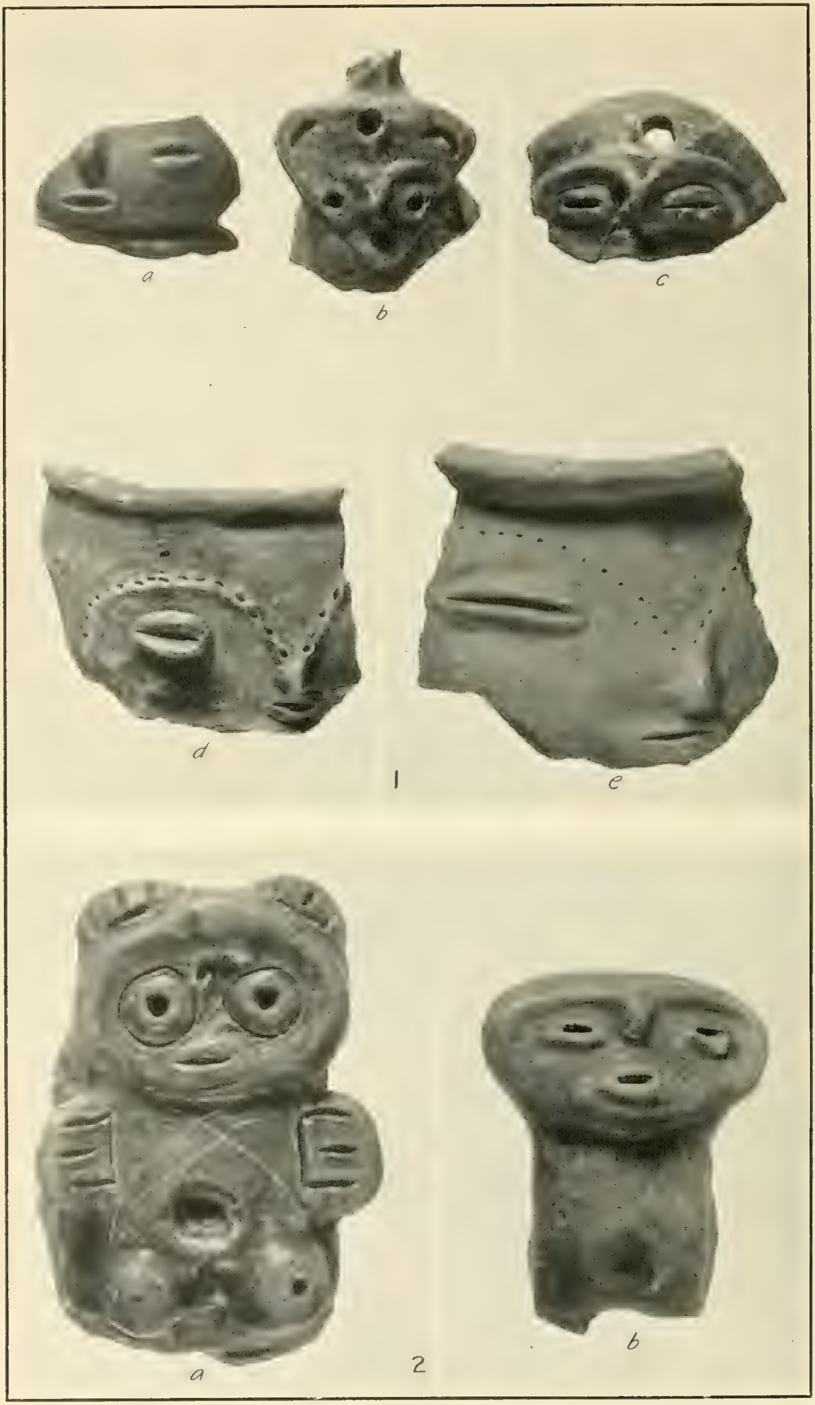
The pieces recovered are too few to allow for any broad comparison to the potteries of Venezuela, the Antilles, or any of the surrounding region. The only thing that can be said at this time is that some of the pieces remotely resemble some of the material recovered in Trinidad. It does not seem to have any affinity to Antillean material nor to Amazonian material, nor to Andean material. How widely spread this type of pottery is was not determined. Since it was found on elevations, it may very well be that they are broken pieces from refuse heaps, or even mounds. Unless extensive excavations are undertaken, which was not possible in the three days I spent in the vicinity, there is no way of determining whether these elevations are mounds. They are located in a country which is very sandy and in which shifting sand dunes are common.

Several of the potsherds show affinity to some of the material uncovered at Tacarigua and in other places in Venezuela. These are shown in plates 27, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e;* 29, *a*, *b*, *f*, *g*. Their resemblance is stylistic. These differ so strikingly from the lugs shown in plate 28 that one wonders if the same people produced these contemporaneously with the others.

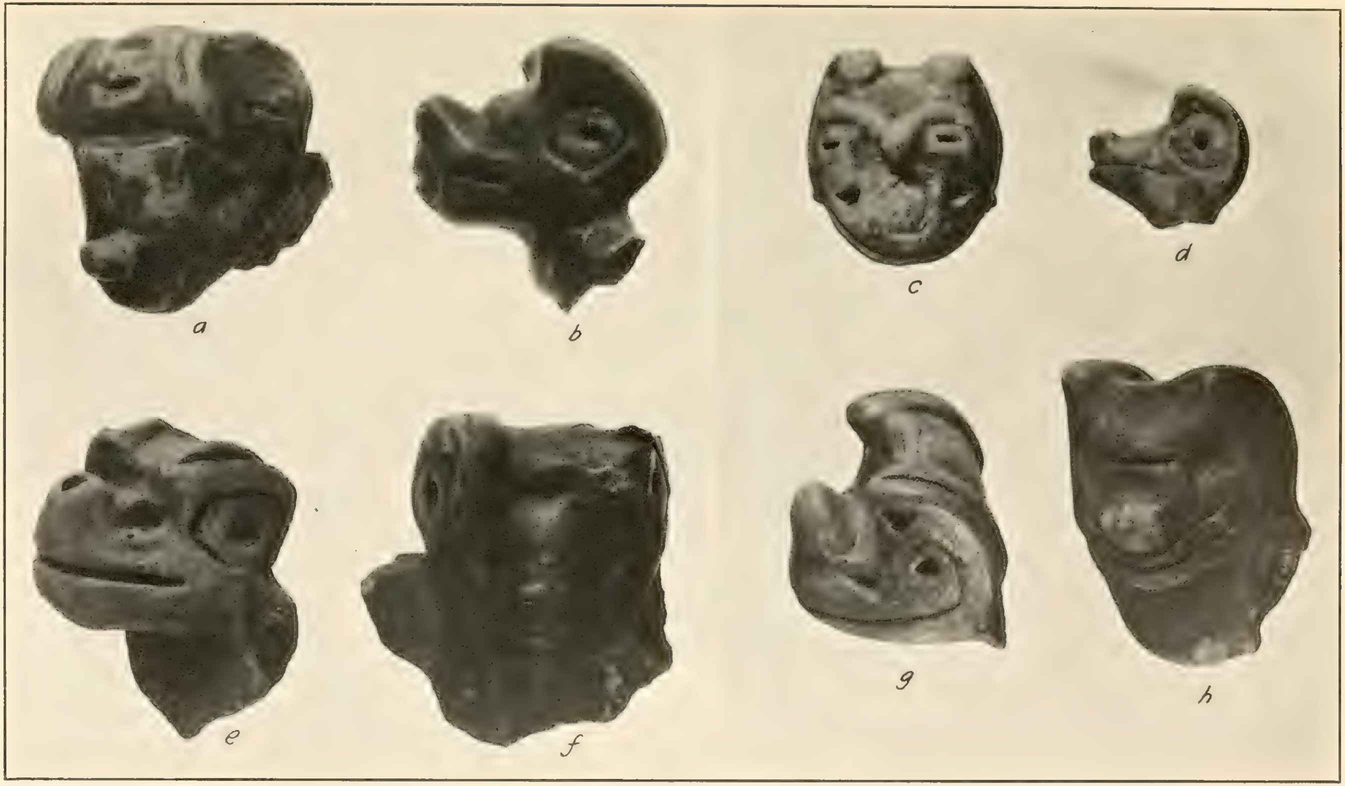
Most of the ware uncovered consisted of a yellowish clay with a red paint on the surface or a red slip. At this time it is not possible to say more about the quality of the ware. We hope that it will be studied sometime in the near future and the results published. The two figures shown in plate 27, *2*, were given to me by local enthusiasts. They reported that the pieces were picked up at Las Trincheras which, according to them, consists of low earthworks resembling trenches. These figurines are, of course, strikingly different from those picked up at Arauquin. The country where they were found is almost completely desert during the dry season—barren even of grasses. Of course this may not have been the condition of the plain in the low tides. It may be that some of the desert aspect of the llanos has been brought about by overgrazing.



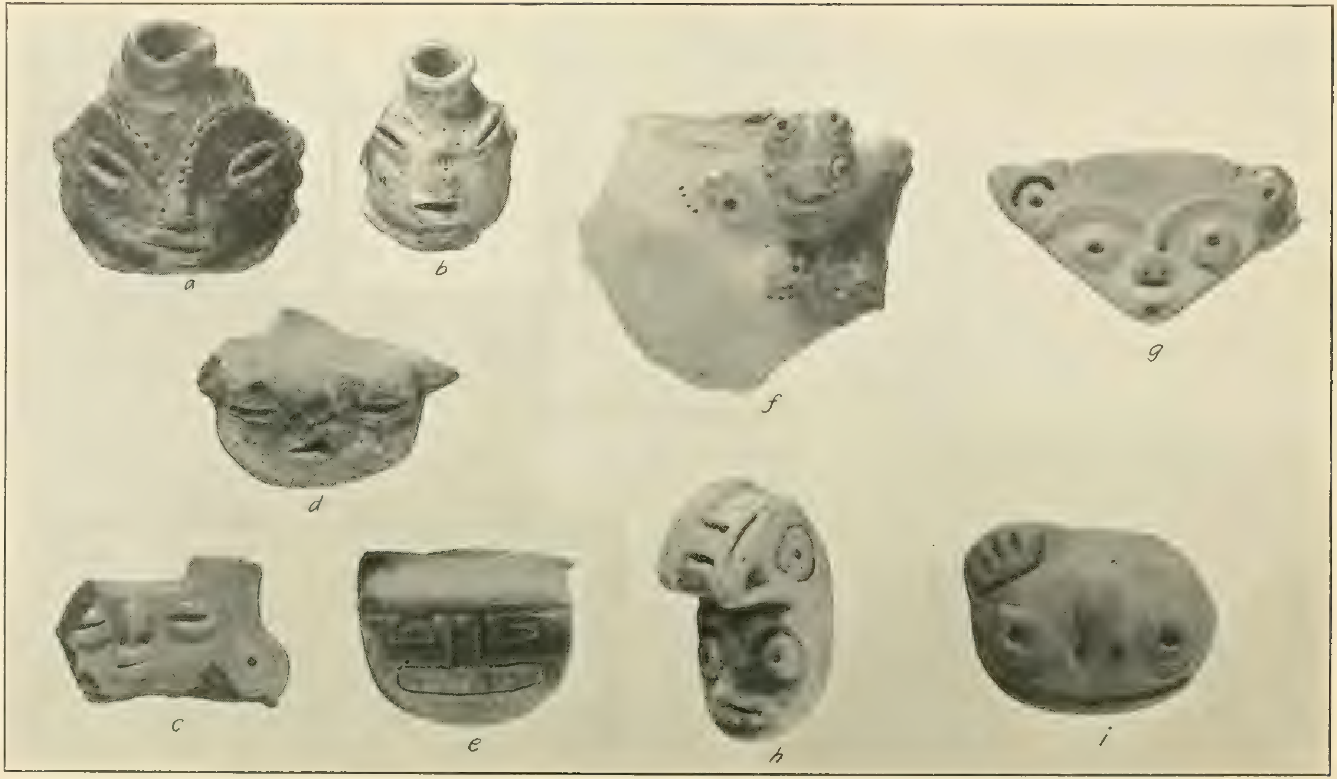
Pottery lugs from Arauquin, Venezuela. *a, g, e,* identifiable as vulture or hawk heads. *f* shows signs of white paint. These pieces are remarkable for their simplicity and strength of style.



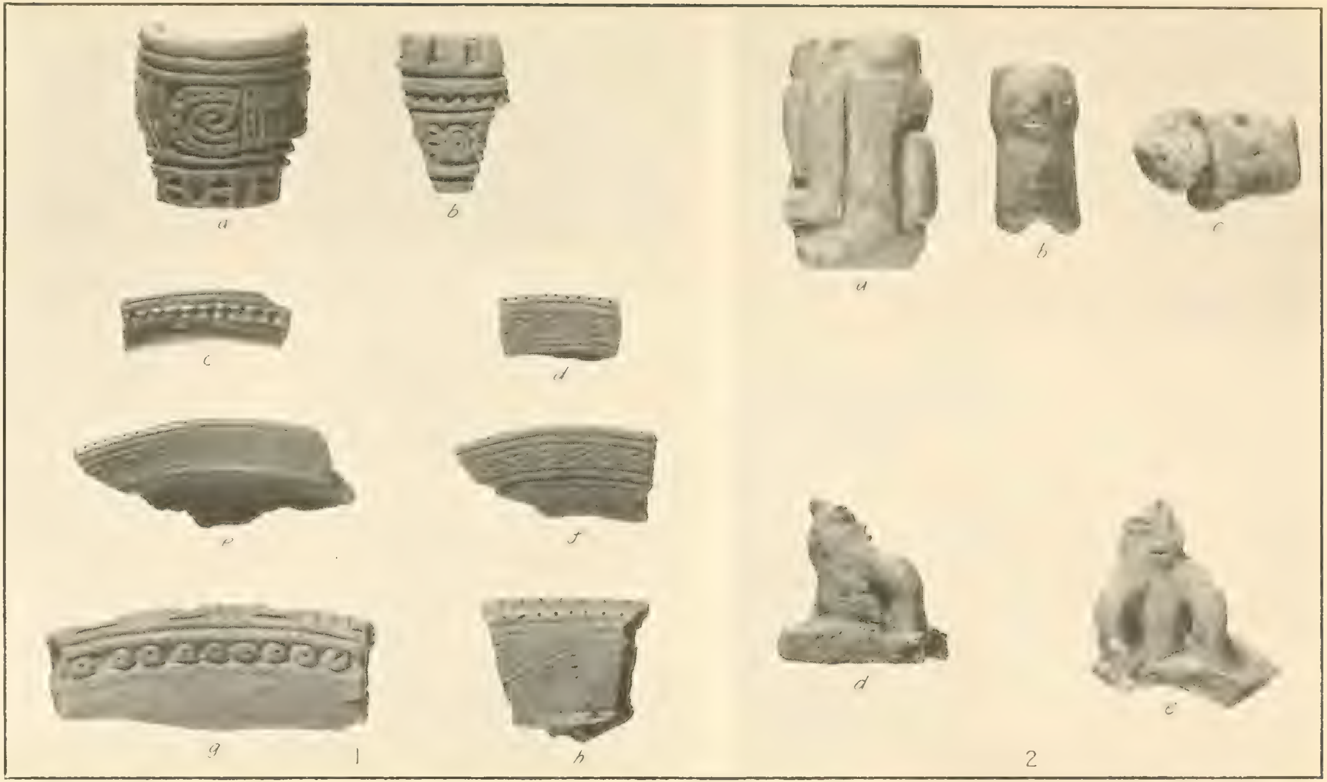
Pottery from Apure, Venezuela. *1.* From Arauquin. *a, c,* Fragments. *b,* Lug. *d, e,* Rim fragments.
2. Figurines from Las Trincheras.



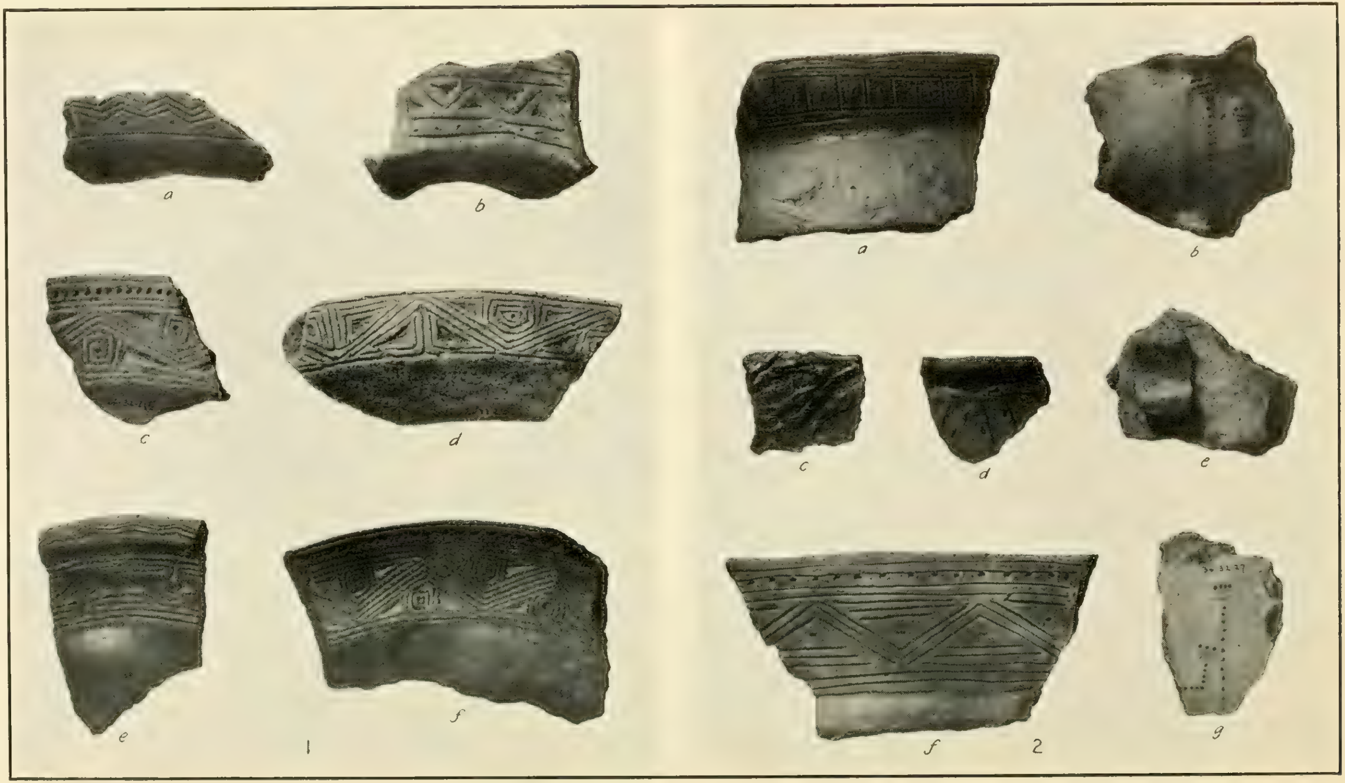
Pottery lugs from Arauquin, Apure, Venezuela. It is impossible to identify these representations of animalistic forms with any certitude.



Potsherds from Arauquin, Apure, Venezuela. *a, b,* Upper portions of vessels. *c, f,* Rim fragments. *d, c, g, h, i,* Lugs. *b* and *h* show signs of white paint.



Potsherds from Arauquin, Apure, Venezuela. *1. a, b,* Fragments of two pottery rings. *c, d, e, f, g, h,* Rim fragments. *2. a,* Solid pottery. *b,* Pottery figurine. *c,* Animal figurine with white paint or slip. *d, e,* Crude seated figure.


a
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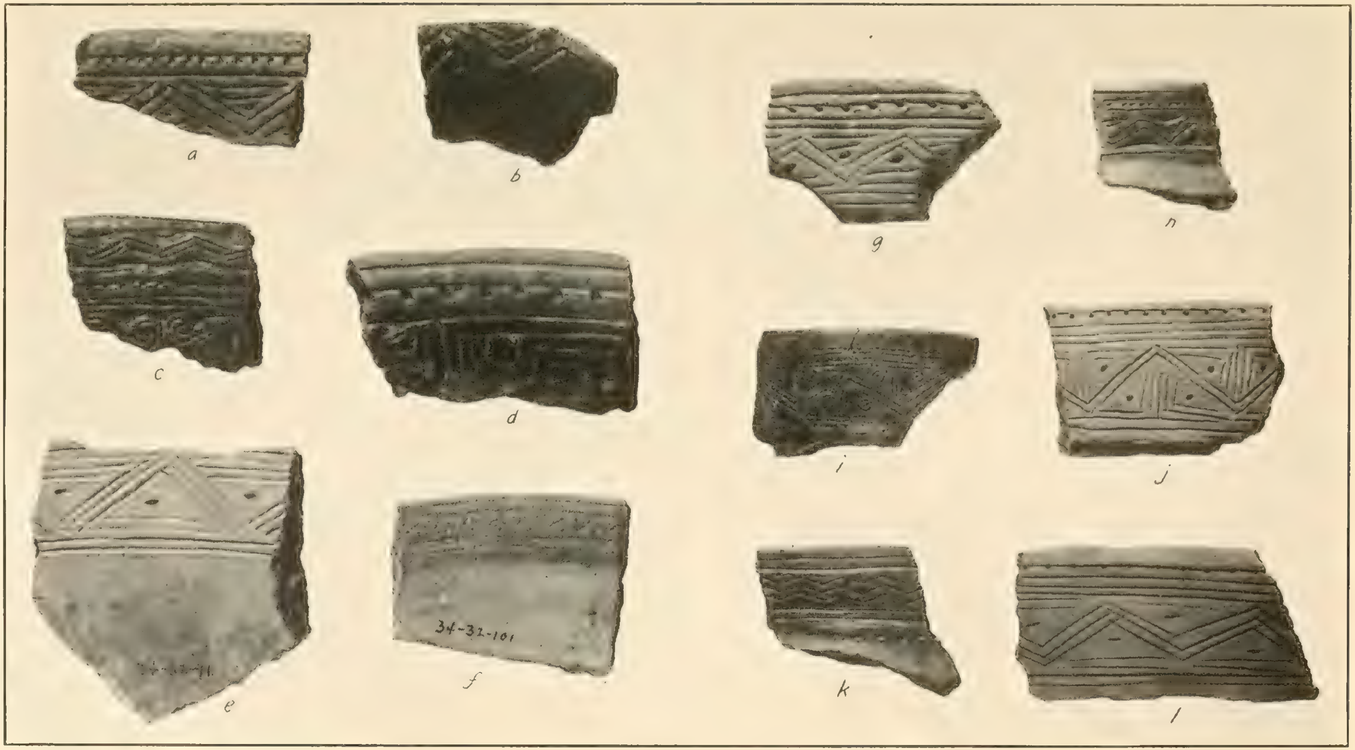
1
f
2
g

Pottery fragments from Arauquin, Apure, Venezuela.



Pottery fragments from Arauquin, Apure, Venezuela. Most of the designs appearing on the potsherds are incised in rectilinear; c, however, shows curvilinear designs.

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